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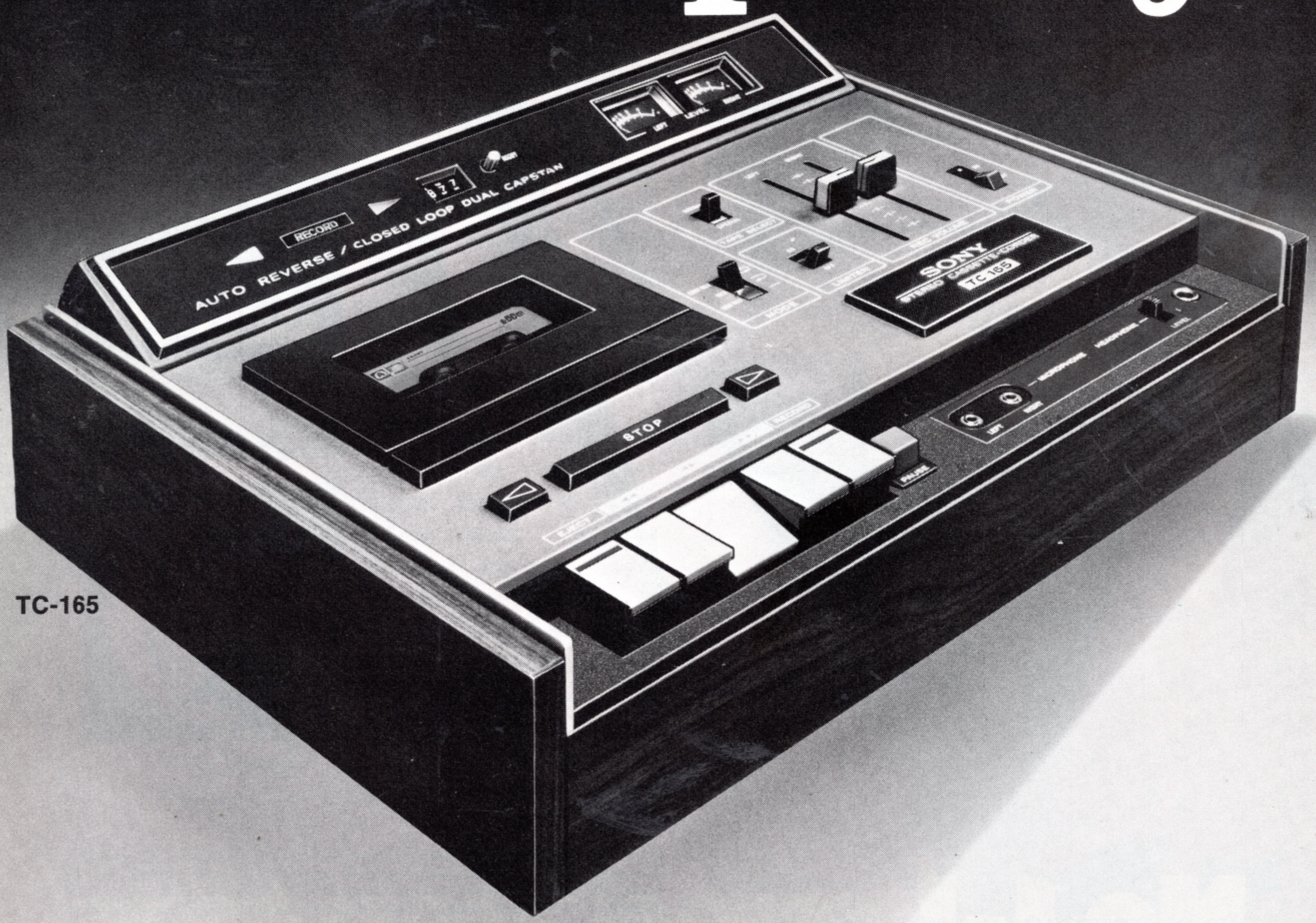

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No. 7 1974
THE EAST

COVER

The orchid ranks second only to the chrysanthemum in the variety of its blooms. It is classified into several hundred genre of more than one thousand five hundred species, almost all of which are distributed in tropical and subtropical zones. In Japan there are sixty genre of one hundred and sixty species.

Some of these orchids were used as subjects of Japanese family crests. One of them, *surugaran*, is native to China. The family crest which we are introducing in this issue depicts a cross section view of three *surugaran*. The design vividly conveys the beauty of this lovely flower in full bloom.

Orchids have been loved especially for their gracefulness. The history of the family crests depicting orchids is not known even though the species are recognized. Therefore no one knows which families the various orchid crests represented.

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LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sirs;

I feel I must write you once again and let you know how much I appreciate your recent series of articles on Buddhism by Dr. Nakamura Hajime. Also of great interest were the recent articles on Asakusa, the Ginza and Kyoto along with their accompanying photos. We have enjoyed most particularly the exquisite photography of Maeda Sinzo. Perhaps you could continue the Nichiren series by including an article or two on the modern Buddhism of his contemporary followers of the organization known as Soka Gakkai.

We thank you for a fine and most enjoyable publication. We have one suggestion—a series of articles on the Japanese festivals held over all the country with photographs in color, if possible—would be of great interest to us and perhaps to your other readers. Your celebrations and festivals seem to be steeped in so much more tradition than western celebrations that they are more appealing to many of us.

Sincerely,
E. L. Walbert
Corion S.
Seattle, Washington,
U.S.A.

Dear Sir;

Since travelling in Japan I have been very interested in reading "The East" since I am a student of Japanese culture and I find your articles quite informative. I am living at a center with other foreign students and we all read very keenly your April '74 issue on Zen.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Cathy Watson
Kyoto City

INFORMATION BOX

Q Dear Sir,

I am a second year student reading Japanese at Cambridge University, England, and in the course of my studies I have found The East magazines invaluable for the insights and wealth of detail they provide on a great variety of topics.

I am spending my summer vacation in Japan, and hope to do the groundwork for my dissertation on the Buddhist sects, in particular the Shin sect, which arose in Mediaeval Japan. I wonder if you could be of assistance in referring me to any articles on this subject in past publications, and in advising me of easily obtainable books (either in Japanese or in English) which discuss the mediaeval sects or contain selections from original Buddhist, and especially Shin, writings and texts.

Any help you can give me would be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,
Susan Wright
17-17 Hiroo 2-chome,
Shibuya-ku, Tokyo

A As to the Shin sect, by which we understand that you are referring to the Jōdo-shin-shu Buddhism founded by Shinran, we published an articled "Shinran, the Creator of New Buddhism in Mediaeval Japan" in the issue of the East V, 1, '69.

In addition, we recommend to you the following books in English on mediaeval Buddhism:

YAMAMOTO Kosho. *An Introduction to Shin Buddhism*. Ube, Yamaguchi-ken, Karinbunko, 1963. This is a detailed and comprehensive introduction.

Paul CARUS. *Amitabha; A Story of Buddhist Theology*. Chicago, Open Court, 1906.

FUJIMOTO R. *An Outline of the Triple Sūtra of Shin Buddhism*, vol. I, 1955. Kyoto, Honpa Hongwanji Press.

UTSUKI Nishu. *The Shin Sect, a School of Mahayana Buddhism, Its Teaching, Brief History, and Present-day Conditions*. Publication Bureau of Buddhist Books, Honpa Hongwanji, Kyoto, Japan, 1937.

James TROUP. *On the Tenets of the Shinshu or 'True Sect' of Buddhist. TASJ.* 1907.

Rev. NAKAI Gendo. *Shinran and His Religion of Pure Faith*. Kyoto, The Shinshu Research Institute, 1937.

KANAMATSU Kenryo. *Naturalness*. Los Angeles, The White Path Society, 1956.

MIKOGAMI Eryu. "Outline of the Notes Lamenting Differences." Published in *Journal of Ryukoku University*. Kyoto, 1953.

IMADATE Tosui. *The Tannishō (Tracts on Deploring the Heterodoxies)*. Kyoto, 1928.

Selections from the Nippon Seishin (Japanese Spirit) Library. Edited by AKEGARASU Haya. Kososha, Kitayasuda, Ishikawa-ken, Japan, 1936.

Q Gentlemen:

I am a subscriber to your magazine The East, which serves me much for opening my eyes further to Japan and the subtle sides of its daily life and culture—for that I am grateful.

I wonder if you might help me locate the makers of two things; One is a porcelain, pig-shaped mosquito coil holder. The other is a wider *kōri* (wicker trunk made of either willow or bamboo. I would be obliged for any help you might offer in finding either the holder or *kōri*.

Thank you for your trouble.

Yours sincerely,
Richard Horodeck
Rinzai-ji Sodo,
127 Oiwa, Shizuoka City

A In reference to your questions, both the mosquito coil holders and *kōri* are seldom available these days even by direct order to the manufacturer. They are, however, sold in some department stores. The address of one is;

Takashimaya Department Store,
2-11, Nihonbashi, Chūō-ku,
Tōkyō, Japan. (Tel) 03-211-4111

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A WORD FROM THE PUBLISHER

Each country has different foods particular to it. Regardless of the command of language, anyone will enjoy eating with relish the food of another country provided that it is delicious. The partaking of different dishes can be a clue to mutual understanding between different races.

In the case of the dishes of Japan, the often-mentioned *sukiyaki, tempura,* or *shabu-shabu* have rendered service to such mutual understanding, although I doubt the significance of the role that these particular dishes have played. For these dishes are of unknown origin, have a relatively short history and are not typically Japanese; rather, they are dishes which the Japanese think foreigners prefer. They seem to have been selected especially in order to please the taste of foreigners, although it cannot be denied that even so they are delicious. The Japanese, however, would hesitate to select them as being typical of Japan. Those that they would select as typical and delicious would most likely disagree with the taste of the foreigners. Some Japanese would recommend *kaisekiryōri*, the exquisitely prepared, tasteful dishes served at the tea ceremony. Others might select *soba*, noodles.

Not all of the Japanese young people of today will agree with the selection of *soba*. It is often said that the taste of *soba*, light and subtle like the spirit of Zen, cannot be appreciated until people are fairly old. However, *soba* is one of the foods which is available everywhere in Japan. Meeting a foreigner who has a taste for *soba* makes me think that he must be quite familiar with things Japanese.

Although I have already mentioned that food can be one means for mutual understanding, such dishes as *sukiyaki, tempura,* and *shabu-shabu,* which seem to have been selected to please the palates of foreigners, do not reflect the real taste of the Japanese people. In the same way, a similar phenomenon can be seen in other aspects of mutual understanding.

In this issue we are publishing a contribution on the food of Japan submitted by Mr. Mitchell Jones, who lives in Kagoshima city. Mr. Jones introduces various popular dishes that can be had at inexpensive restaurants, and his article conveys his viewpoints and personal observations. He names some of the dishes which are popular with young salaried men and which they eat as "everyday" fare. These dishes are not elegant but are less expensive ones which are popular with the people in general. When I imagine this contributor sitting next to young workers at a popular restaurant crowded with customers and partaking of *donburi*, a bowl of boiled rice, the image makes me smile with pleasure. Mr. Jones must have gathered up all his courage to make himself enter a popular restaurant on a small street for the first time! In return for his courage he must have received a warm welcome from those sitting near him.

I would like to explain here that the *soba* which Mr. Jones mentions is different from the *soba* which I mentioned. Our contributor apparently was referring to *yakisoba*, grilled Chinese-style noodles, which are not the same as those which the Japanese call *soba*. This trifling error, however, by no means invites disgrace on his article which, as I said before, is written on the basis of his own viewpoints as well as his personal observations.

A Request to Our Readers

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If it should happen that you MISS AN ISSUE, please notify our Subscription Department and we will try to trace the copy or send you a replacement.

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Topics

"Take Revenge in Nagasaki for the Murder in Edo"

THERE IS a Japanese expression: "Take revenge in Nagasaki for the murder in Edo." This expression must have developed as the result of a true story: a father was murdered in Edo (now Tokyō); after much searching, his son found the murderer in Nagasaki (the westernmost province of Japan) and there took revenge upon his father's death.

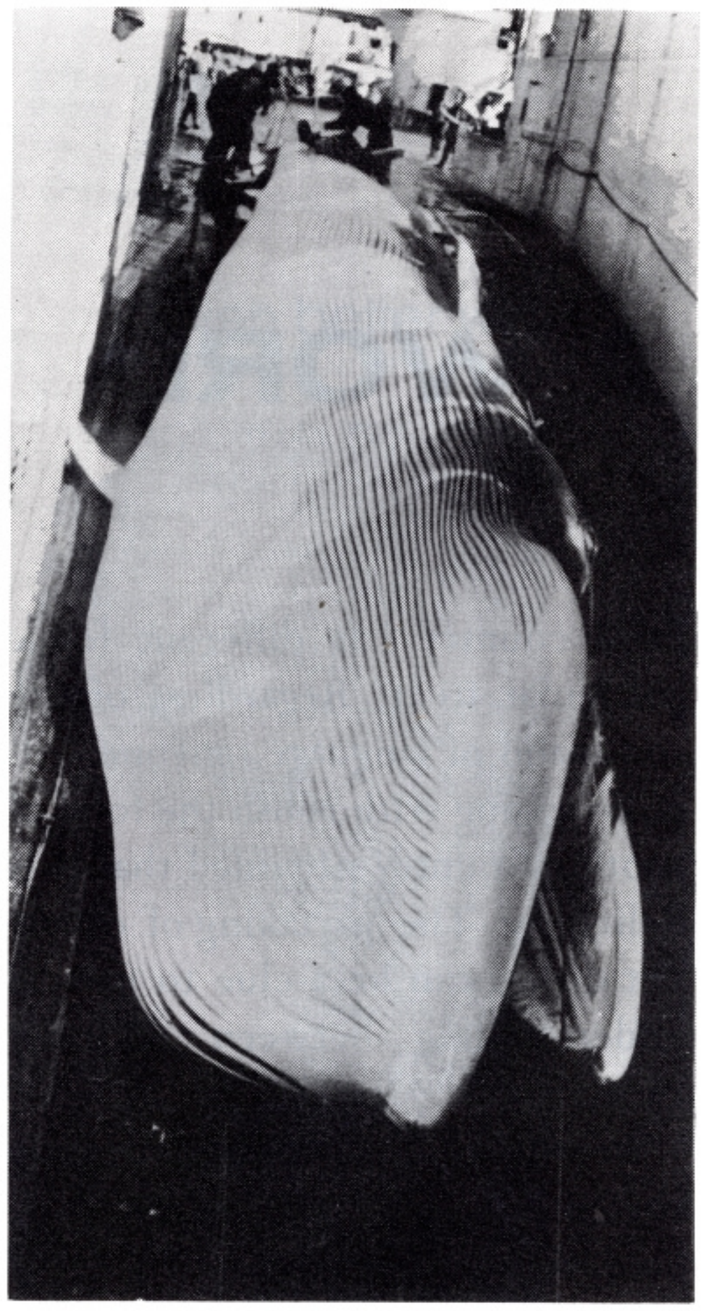
This expression must have originally been used to mean success in taking revenge. Although the expression is still in use, its meaning has changed. Today it is interpreted as taking revenge in a subtle way or in an entirely unrelated manner or place; sometimes it even means to take an unexpected revenge. Later on we will quote a newspaper article as an example.

Before quoting it, however, we want to touch on the talks recently held by the International Whaling Commission (IWC) in London. The United States went to the annual convention of this commission with the abortive proposal for a 10-year moratorium on all commercial whaling. This proposal was based partly on the conviction that such a moratorium would be of great importance for the preservation of animals. The Japanese, who are very self-conscious of their reputation and sensitive to any criticism directed towards them by foreign countries, simply could not grasp this viewpoint. Looked at purely from the standpoint of the preservation of animals, if the killing of a number of whales is criticized, the killing of a far greater number of cattle should be criticized also. If people who eat beef can obtain indulgence by insisting that it is a very important food, then those who eat whale meat should be able to obtain the same indulgence. In Japan, whale meat is important; for example, 50,000 children in elementary schools are fed on it.

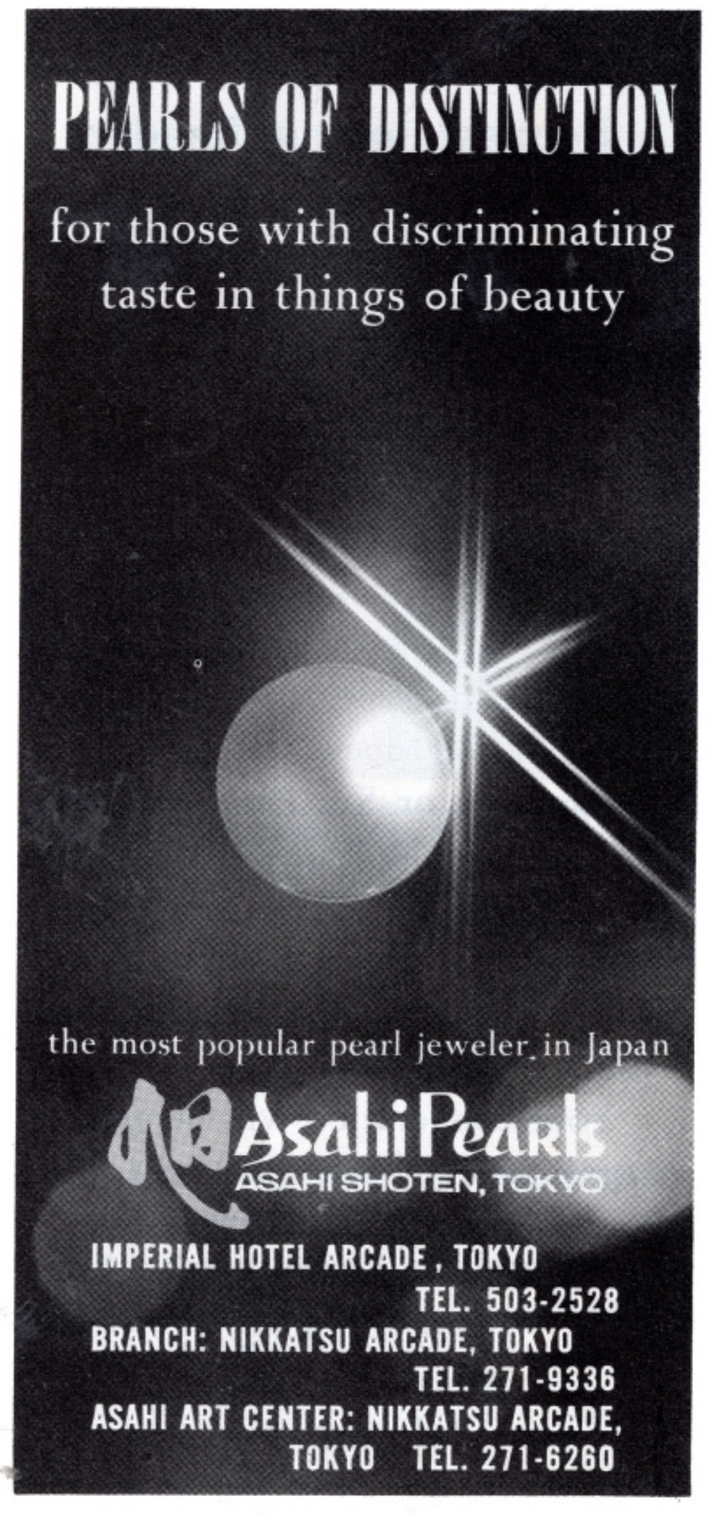
The Japanese whaling industry has been working under strict regulations concerning the amount of catch. The days of limitless catch ended a long time ago. If whaling is entirely prohibited it will obviously result in an increase in the number of whales. And whales can be fearsome terrors to fish on the high seas.

Whaling began a long, long time ago and there are some persuasive reasons for its continuation. It is interesting to note that one reason Japan was opened to foreign trade after her long isolation policy was America's request for the use of a Japanese port for its whaling boats. At that time America was using great quantities of whale oil.

A point which is unfavourable to Japan is that she is catching more fish than any other country in the world. The Japanese are unique, although we do not use the word unique so easily, in the respect that they eat a great deal of fish of all kinds including whale, although relatively few of the people eat the latter. But the fact that they eat whale at all is apt to be misunderstood and gain the Japanese little sympathy. Another reason that Japan is often misunderstood is because she followed her own individual, peculiar methods in her rapid change from an underdeveloped country to a modern industrial one. Because of this, Japan is often dealt with as "strange".



Around the same time that the Japanese whaling industry was being criticized, another problem was being posed about animal preservation. At Ueno Park, Tōkyō, monkeys were given the job of operating trams to take children for rides. This brought so much criticism from a society for the prevention of cruelty to animals that the operation of the monkey-operated trams came to an end. According to the society, it is a sign of cruelty for a monkey to be tied to a tram and made to operate it. However, in a real sense, only the monkeys know whether it is cruel or not. Contrary to whatever a human being might think, the monkeys might consider it to be a very good job, for as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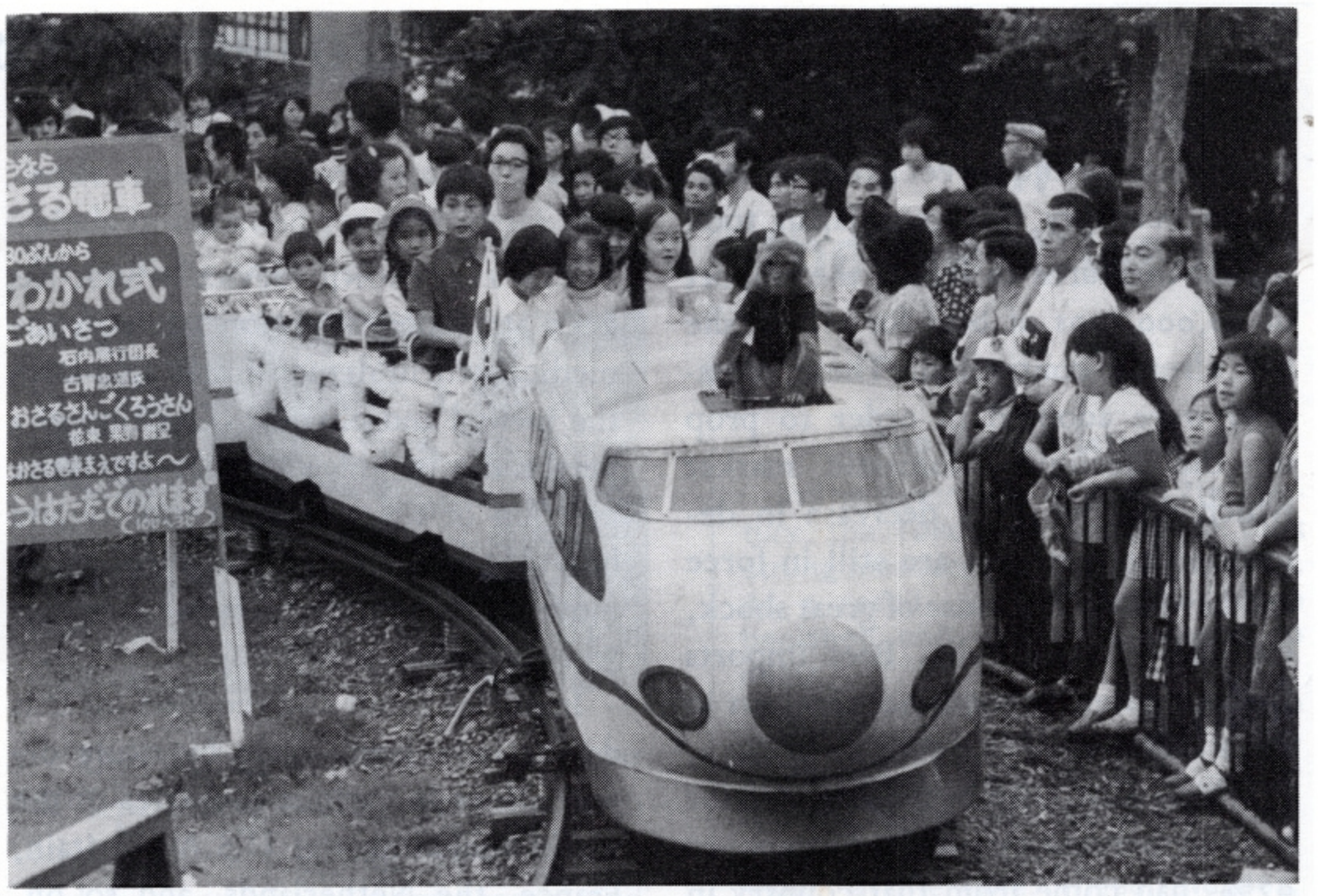
a reward they might be given bananas, which are their favorite food. What would happen if monkeys were trained to operate trams everywhere in the world? Would every society for the prevention of cruelty to animals in the world rise up against this idea? The societies against cruelty of animals might reverse their thinking and become sponsors who hold festivals in praise of the monkeys' social service! And apropos of cruelty to animals, one of the things that the Japanese cannot understand at all is the bullfight in Spain. There is a correct order for doing everything, and the criticism levelled against man's cruelty to animals should begin with the bullfight.

Well, last but not least we would like to quote the newspaper article from the Sankei. We decline to take any responsibility for the contents of this article, which deals with the whaling problem. The article is headed: "Take Revenge on the Whale in the Matter of Cattle", which obviously is an ironic twist of the expression: "Take revenge in Nagasaki for the murder in Edo."

"At the annual convention of the International Whaling Commission being held in London, the United States proposed a total moratorium on whaling and Australia proposed a partial moratorium. Both of these proposals were offered from the standpoint of the protection and preservation of animals.

"On the other hand, Japan and the U.S.S.R. suggested a counter-proposal: continue whaling under strict regulations so as not to decrease the number of whales. These offensive and defensive battles are still being debated at the convention. Those concerned with whaling criticize the proposals of the United States and Australia by stating that these two countries seem to be trying to 'take revenge in Nagasaki for the murder in Edo.' " 'Beef,' which the United States and Australia are attempting to export to Japan, is comparable to 'Edo', and 'whale' can be replaced by 'Nagasaki.' The United States and Australia obviously understand the reason that Japan proposes to continue whaling: that is, whale



meat is an important source of protein for the Japanese. In fact, the United States and Australia read Japan's hand this way: 'Putting a ban on whaling subsequently will lead Japan to import a great amount of beef from the United

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States and Australia.' These 'offensive' proposals for a moratorium apparently originate not solely from a spirit of protection for the 'sweet little whales.'

"In February this year Japan took urgent measures to freeze the import of 40,000 tons of beef for which she had already contracted. These measures were adopted in order to prop up the declining domestic market which was due to a decrease in demand. The measures are still in force and have been the cause of great shock, especially to Australia. Beef imports had amounted to about 60,000 tons in 1972 and about 130,000 tons in 1973, of which Australian beef accounted for a great percentage: 53,000 tons, or 92%, had come from that country in 1972 and 107,000 tons, or 84%, in 1973. In expection of an increasing demand in Japan for beef in 1974, Australia has been promoting the raising of cattle.

"It is not difficult to imagine the consternation that Australia must have felt at being informed of the Japanese sudden cancellation. The United States and New Zealand must also have suffered the same feelings although they had exported a relatively small amount of beef to Japan. What was worse, the European Common Market countries also cancelled beef imports from Australia. The result was that Australian beef began to flood the market in the United States, thus upsetting the American policy to attempt to lower the price of beef by increasing the number of cattle. When a flood of Australian beef came to the U.S. the price of beef went down sharply compared to the price in 1973 when American housewives had launched a boycott against the high prices of beef.

"An official of the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry whispered: 'I sometimes overhear some Americans saying that if whaling were prohibited, Japan would surely import a great amount of beef from the United States and Australia!' A harsh reality seems to hide itself behind the heart-warming proposals to protect and preserve whales."

We are scheduled to publish another comment on whaling in the near future.

Dr. "Soles-of-the-Feet"

An electronic device which has been attracting attention lately in the medical world demonstrates that both the mental and physical condition of a person can be judged by observing the position of the center of gravity and how it moves with the involuntary movements of the soles of the feet when a person is standing.

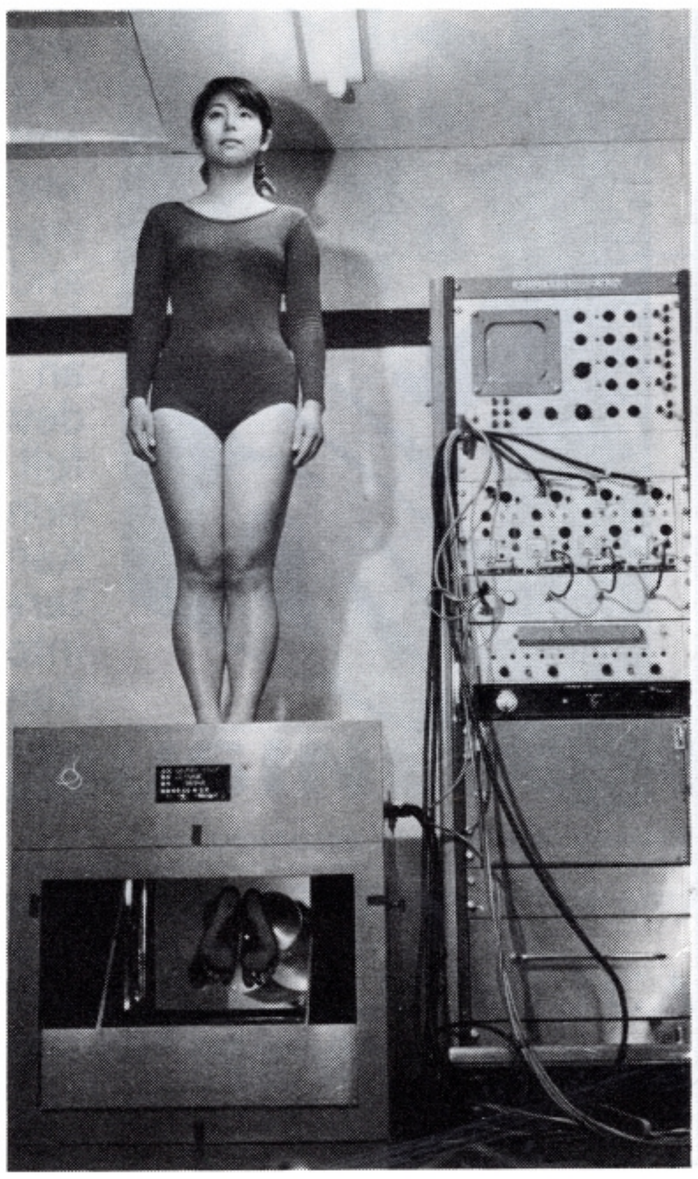
Inquiries about and requests for this device have been made by many organizations in various countries of the world including the U.S.A., Britain, France, the Netherlands, and so on. The device, called "Pedoscope," was developed in 1969 by Professor Hirasawa Yaichirō of Shizuoka University who is affectionately nicknamed "Doctor Soles-of-the-Feet."

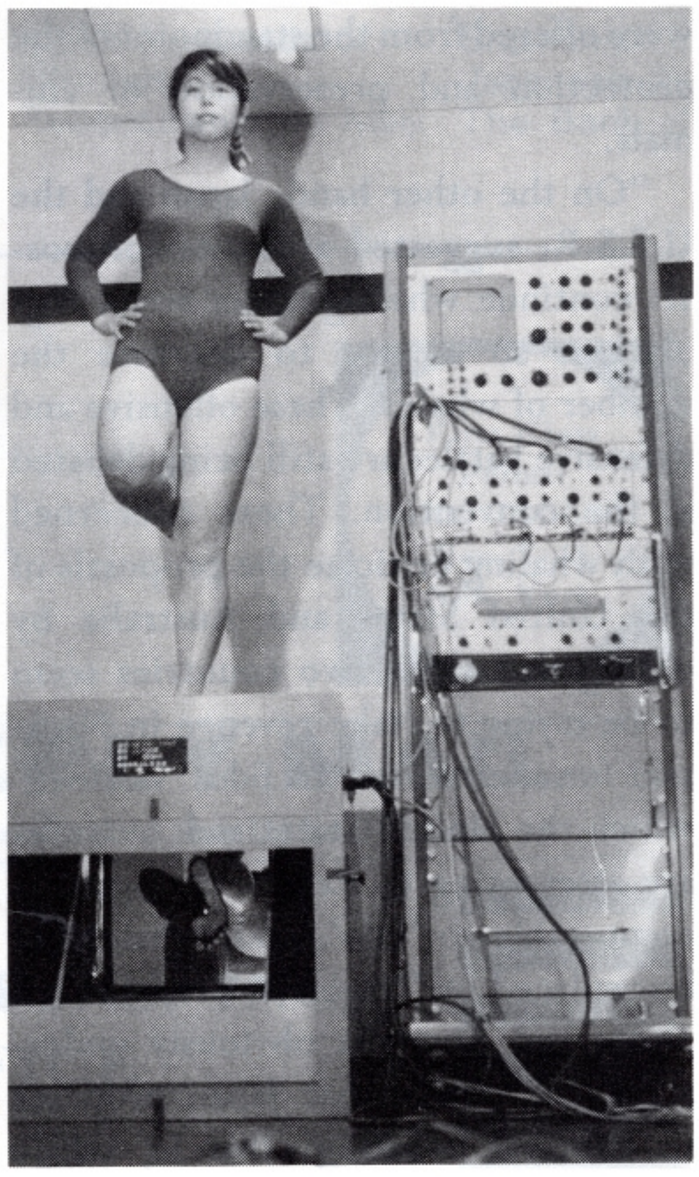
When a person is in a standing position, this device will indicate how the center of the gravity of the body changes with the body's involuntary movement. This is clearly seen on a TV screen and recorded on graph paper.

The results of Dr. Hirasawa's research, in which some 100,000 people of all ages and both sexes took part as subjects of his experiments, are as follows:

"In the cases of mentally and physically healthy individuals aged between 8 and 65 years the center of gravity of a man in an erect position moves only within the space of one sq. cm. during a 20-to-30-second period of time. In the cases of those over 66 or under 7 years of age, all of those regardless of age who are either mentally unstable, physically deficient, or have nervous defects, the center of gravity moves within an area four or five times wider than in the case of normally healthy people. Also, the pattern of the movement can be classified for medical diagnosis."

This method of diagnosis can be utilized for the early discovery of potential nervous diseases, aftereffects of traffic accidents, etc. NASA in the United States is one organization scheduled to purchase this device. In addition, a hospital in England is planning to put the device to practical use in the near future for research in the ambulation of infantile paralysis patients.





Adult Toy Mania

THE FIVE-DAY week which has been introduced from the West is gradually taking root in Japanese society. With it have come the long hours of leisure to which the Japanese are as yet unaccustomed and which seem to hang heavily on them during the weekends. These days everything is so expensive that it is almost impossible for the men to go out with their families every weekend. So a small social change has been taking place. Ever since spring, children's toys have been getting increasingly popular with and indeed often bought by adults. This curious phenomenon could be attributed to the thinking of adults who prefer to kill time in inexpensive ways.

According to a survey conducted by the Tōkyō Toys and Dolls Corporation, imported toys requiring metal activity such as jig-saw and cross-word puzzles have been selling like hotcakes. This is true also of toys for collection such as miniature cars.

Often in the West even very old people sit for hours and give themselves over to the enjoyment of solving jig-saw and cross-word puzzles. A similar scene has now emerged in Japan, where perhaps in a small apartment an adult can be seen wracking his brains to solve an ultra-difficult puzzle more enthusiastically than a child. (Some psychologists might consider that this kind of behavior reflects mental senility and is not at all sound!)

"Collection maniacs" buy imported mini-cars by the dozens. These small-scale models cover 2,000 different kinds of cars and range in price from ¥200 to ¥15,000 per car!

Thus during weekends the toy floor in department stores is crowded with adults who are buying imported toys and games and who are unaccompanied by children.

Ah, toys and games used to be such attractive exports from Japan!

Even Those with Pronounced Stomach Cancer Can Survive

STOMACH CANCER is said to be curable if it is discovered early enough. When it is not discovered until the late stages, doctors consider that the patient will survive for six months at the longest. Now a medical treatment according to which even those who have already entered the late stages of stomach cancer can survive a considerably long period of time has been developed by Dr. Hattori Takanobu and his staff at Kyōundō Hospital, which is attached to the Sasaki Institute in Surugadai, Kanda, Tokyo. This institute is a private organization for research and study of cancer.

The method which is used in this treatment was first presented on June 27 at the 22nd General Conference of the Japan Chemotherapy Society. The National Cancer Institute of the U.S.A.

Coming Up in the Next Issue:

The Ezo Christians

In the beginning of the 17th century, the Tokugawa Shogunate took strong measures to ban Christianity. As a result, some Christians were banished and others sentenced to death.

Of the seventy-one Christians who were banished to Tsugaru in the northernmost part of the island of Honshu, some later fled to Ezo (now Hokkaido), about which little was known at the time. These refugees, together with some foreign missionaries, secretly practiced Christianity. The Tokugawa government sent a party in pursuit of them and as many as one hundred and six Christians of Ezo were put to death in 1639.

Not long ago, discoveries were made in Hokkaido of some tombstones and lanterns bearing the Christian cross and also of a stone sculpture of the Virgin Mary which had been purposely carved so as to resemble Kannon, the Goddess of Mercy. These valuable finds have been attracting a great deal of attention. In the next issue we will introduce a tragic but little-known story of the Ezo Christians.

The Lotus Sutra

Since by-gone days, the Lotus Sutra has been referred to as "The King of Sutras" and is even now considered to be supreme. It has been so important that Japanese Buddhism evolved from it. The Lotus Sutra is unique in the respect that it gives an idea of the existence of the "ultimate and eternal Buddha" and teaches the concept that every human being has this Buddha deep inside his mind (soul and heart).

Among distinguished Japanese priests, especially Nichiren esteemed and adored this sutra with great passion. The influence of Nichiren, who placed so much emphasis on the Lotus Sutra, has been so profound that it can be said that most of the various Buddhist sects which have arisen since World War II were born of his devout belief.

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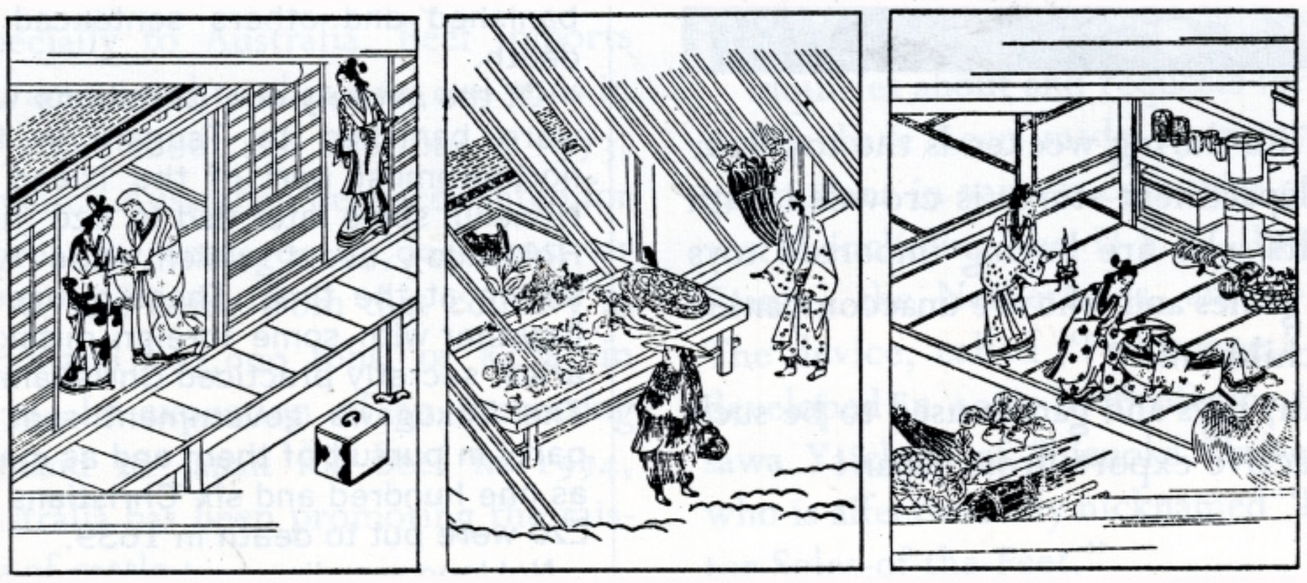
has already applied for joint research for the more developed method of this new treatment, which could change the complete picture in the field of cancer.

Dr. Hattori and his staff have been engaged in cancer research for the purpose of trying to find a medicine which can play a similar rôle to that of vaccine, i.e., a medicine which will reduce the increase of cancer cells by raising the patient's immunity to the disease. The group used an anti-cancer drug called OK-432, which had been developed several years ago in the medical division of Kanazawa University and which seemingly had given a patient immunity. The group combined this medicine with other anti-cancer drugs and experimented with such animals as laboratory rats. As a result, they found that the most effective results were attained by giving a drip infusion of a mixture of OK-432, mitomycin C and 5-FU. In April 1972 they began this treatment in an attempt to cure patients of cancer. Thirty-one patients with stomach cancer underwent this treatment, most of whom were almost at the terminal stage. Some of these patients had cancer of the liver and lympo druse which had been translocated from the stomach. The treatment which was given to these patients—infusions of the mixture of the three medicines once a day for two months—worked very well. Most of the patients recovered from the poor appetites and nausea which are symptomatic of the terminal stage of stomach cancer.

Of the thirty-one patients, twenty-three died within one year after treatment. Four survived one to two years. The remaining four are still living, three of them longer than the two years since they were pronounced to be at the terminal stage of stomach cancer. Since leaving the hospital these four, to our surprise, have been engaging in light work in their homes. They are, however, still victims of their disease although they are living with none of the symptoms particular to cancer, thanks to the increase in the number of lymphocyte. The increase of lymphocyte indicates the rise of the immunity from cancer.

The four patients, all of whom are living more or less normal lives while "co-existing with cancer" are about sixty years old. Dr. Hattori says of them frankly: "We have as yet no definite indication as to how well these patients will progress from now on. But there are clear prospects of better methods of treatment for terminal cancer patients."

As it is quite rare for a patient with terminal stage stomach cancer to survive for more than one year, this method of treatment developed by Dr. Hattori and his group has been attracting attention not only in Japan but abroad as well.



The young and protected grocer's daughter Oshichi fell in love the moment she took the splinter from the finger of the handsome samurai youth whose patrician family, like her own plebian one, had taken refuge in the temple from the fearsome fire. And then Kichisaburō visited her house in disguise and they were able to consummate their affection. But laws and society forbade their attachment. At last, driven to desperation by her overruling passion, Oshichi decided on a horrible plan. . . .

It's Time Their Stories Were Told

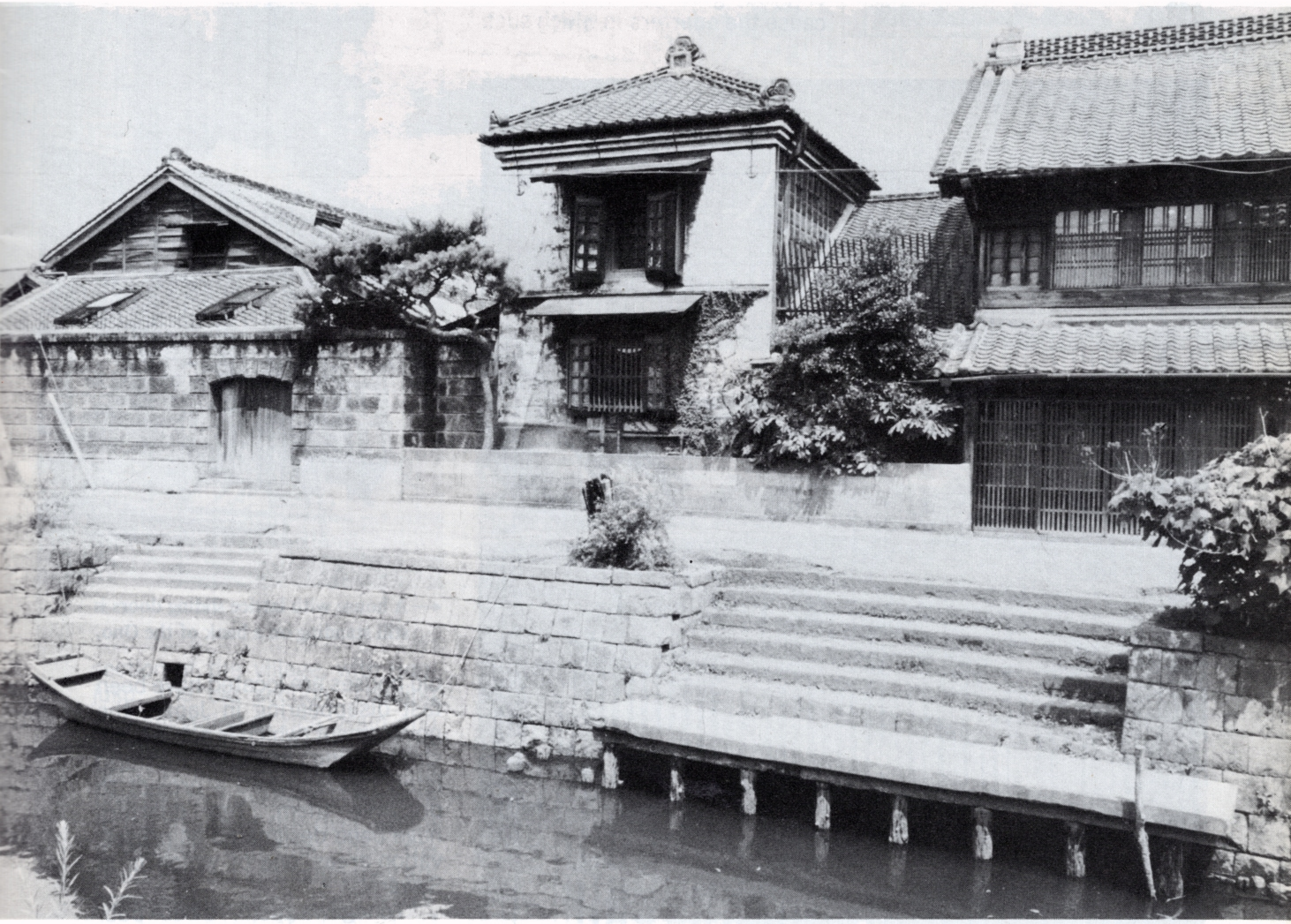
The women of Japan have often been depicted as weak, helpless feminine things fawning behind fans. But that is because no one told the true stories of how imaginative, creative women made their own sometimes very powerful place in Japanese history. Some like Kasuga no Tsuboné rose to positions where their actions could decide the future of the Shōgunate. Some like Okuni and Yosano Akiko ignored the bounds of society to forge new directions in the arts. Some rose above it all to near-beatitude like Hosokawa Gracia. Many of their stories end in tragedy, though by no means all.

We decided it's time their stories were told. And so we offer you the book.

Women Who Shaped Japan,

the first of a series of historical publications by The East.

Sawara—A Once-Flourishing City on a River



On the lower Tone, one of the great rivers in Japanese history, (See The East Vol. X No. 4), there is a city called Sawara. It takes one and a half hours by express train from Tokyo to Sawara. The city looks ordinary and unattractive as one steps down from the train to see just uninteresting rows of houses. However, if one walks along the banks of the Ono, a tributary of the Tone, which flows through the northern part of the city, one discovers incredibly beautiful old houses.

Sawara once was the largest commercial town in the Boso district (now Chiba Prefecture).

During the Edo Period when water transport flourished goods were carried by boat down the Tone, a much-used trunk route, from areas such as Gunma and Ibaragi Prefectures to Sawara, where the cargo was unloaded. From Sawara it was transported overland to the capital, Edo (now Tokyo).

The quarter of the city along the banks of the Ono where the old houses of the Edo Period merchants still stand reminds one of old Sawara which once had enjoyed great prosperity. Because the quarters in which such old houses are located have been fast disappearing in Japan, the government (which is notoriously slow-moving in such matters) lately has launched a project to preserve them. Ten quarters have been designated as preservation areas, one of which is in Sawara.

"Tonegawa-zushi," a book published in 1855 which describes the districts along the Tone, reads as follows: "Sawara is the most prosperous village in the lower Tone district. A river flows through the village almost at its center. A bridge spans the river and connects Shinjuku, the new

A warehouse reminds us of flourishing by-gone days.

←A house with lattice sliding doors is still standing on a bank of the Ono.

Picturesque old houses on the bank of the Ono River.

An old-fashioned house with a roof reinforced with iron panel. →

section of the village, with Honjuku, the old section. Loading and unloading of rice grain and various other goods take place here. A number of boats are boarded by travellers. From here to the mouth of the river where it empties into the Tone the boats sail fast as though they are complaining about the narrowness of the river. Crowds of people come and go day and night without interval."

Sawara, which once flourished as described in this book, became less prosperous in the twentieth century with the decline of water transport. Nowa-

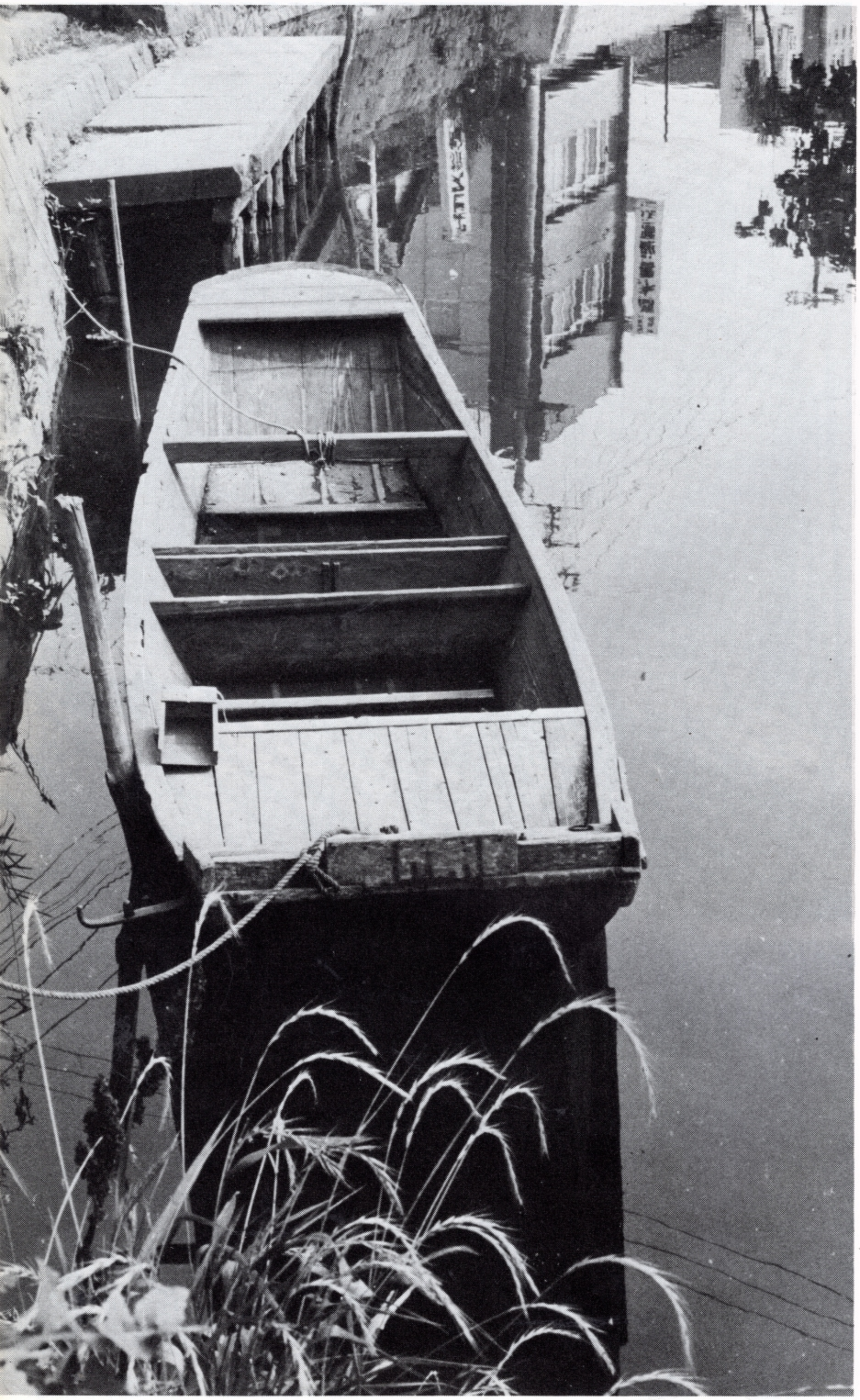
小
創業天明年間
生蕎麥
小屋
生蕎麥
小屋

days the banks of the river are deserted and few people are on the streets. Through the drooping branches of the willow trees one sees old-fashioned buildings constructed in traditional architectural style such as an old warehouse with cracked white walls and a merchant's somber, dark house with a store on the first floor and a storeroom on the second. Almost all such antique houses were built in the 19th century.

For example, a soba (buckwheat noodles) shop standing on the bank of the river opened some one hundred and eighty years ago. The floor of this shop is covered with tatami (straw mats) on which the customers used to sit to enjoy a meal. The narrow wooden stairs to the second floor have been used so much that they shine as though they have just been polished. Each step shows a small depression where thousands of feet must have trod for a long period of time.

←
Exterior of a 180-year-old soba shop.

Once-flourishing book shop. Note the old-fashioned ornament on the lower roof.



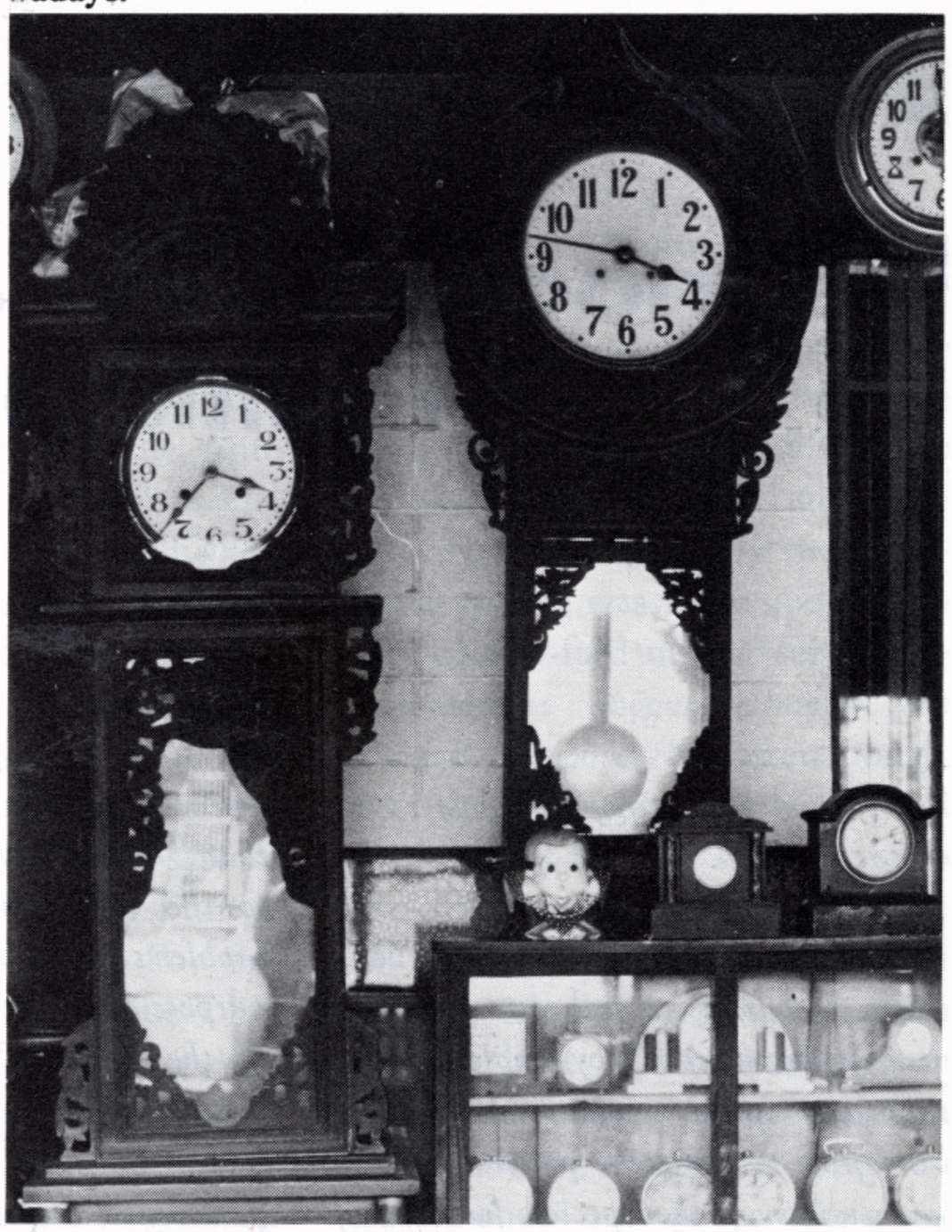
Another beautiful old house was the store of a rice wholesaler. When one opens the sliding wooden door to enter one sees a charming old-fashioned counter in one corner. Boats which were loaded with hundreds of bags of rice used to dock in front of this store, and it was quite a sight to watch the many busy people unloading the cargo.

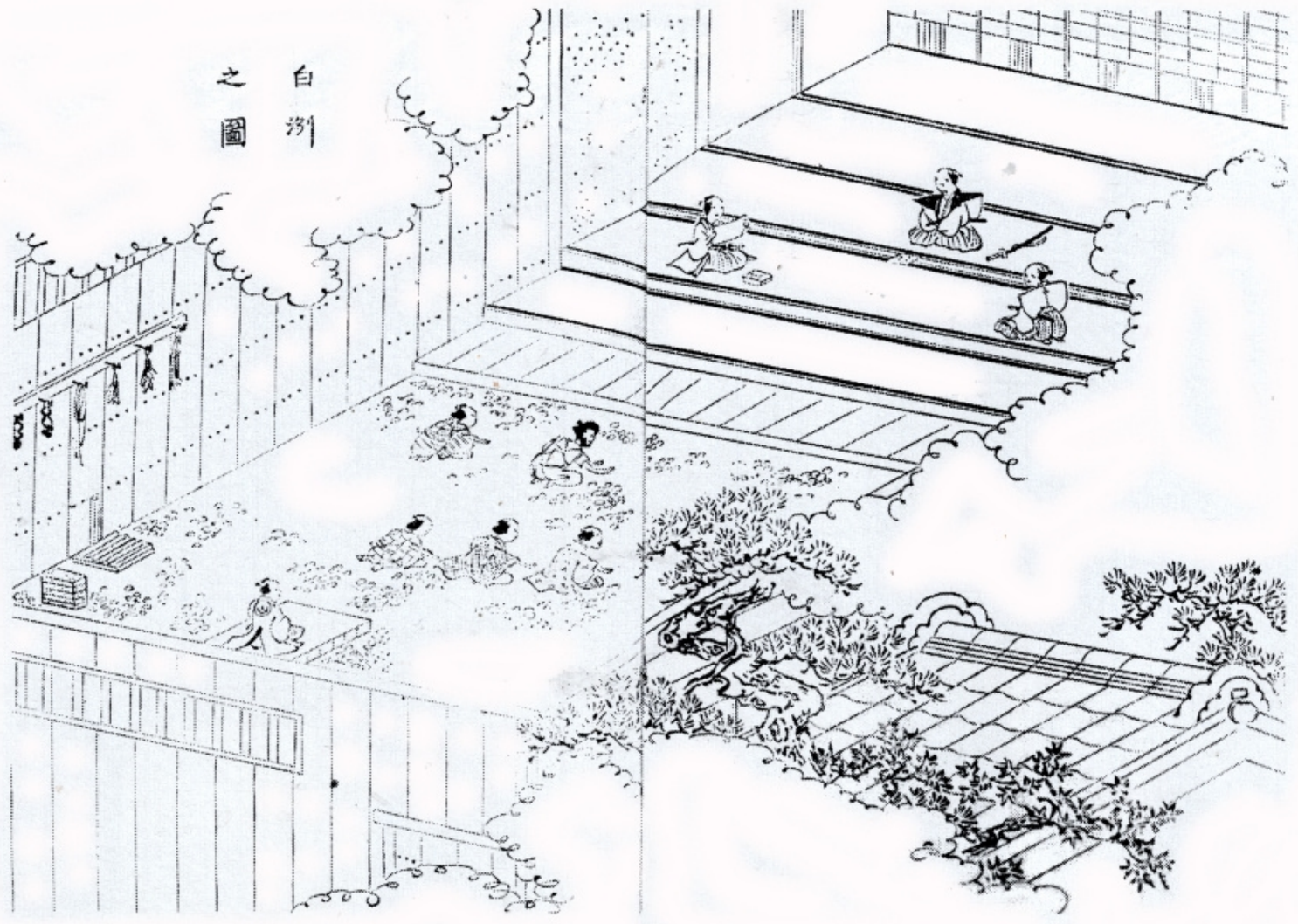
Another interesting house is the old bookstore, which still display its attractive antique signboard on the tiled eaves. This store used to publish books as well as sell them and so gained a fine reputation as the leading bookstore in Chiba Prefecture. Now, however, only the antique signboard recalls to one's mind the by-gone days.

The area along the Ono where these houses stand no longer marks the center of Chiba Prefecture nor even of Sawara city. These days Sawara is chiefly known for its irises and as a center for fishing, especially for angling for funa, a crucian carp. The fishermen come here all year, but only in May and June when the irises of Sawara and Itako on the other bank of the Tone are in full bloom do these towns attract a number of sightseers from neighboring prefectures such as Tokyo. But very few visitors to Sawara visit the rows of interesting old-fashioned houses along the Ono. 東

Grocery store; the ground floor is the store, the second floor the storage area.

Watchmaker in Sawara. The fenced-off counter is seldom seen nowadays.





A criminal at court sitting on the white sand-covered floor.
(From Tokugawa Bakufu Kenchi Yoryaku published by Seiabo.)

Pre-modern Law and the Tokugawa Political Structure

by Ishii Shirō, Professor of Law, Tōkyō University

Preface

Japan is said to be the only non-Western country which has succeeded in its "modernization" by employing the capitalist system while resisting pressure from the Western powers. A comprehension of the special features of both the positive and negative sides of that "modernization" is indispensable to the understanding of the various problems which beset Japan today. The purpose of this study is to explore some of the historical premises of modern Japanese law and legal theory.

For the most part, Japan has imported her legal system and theories from Western Europe. Since the modern development and use of indigenous institutions was extremely limited, some students argue that there is little point in examining the historical premises of modern institutions. But thought in the field of law (i.e. legal concepts and legal consciousness) cannot be easily segregated into modern and pre-modern.

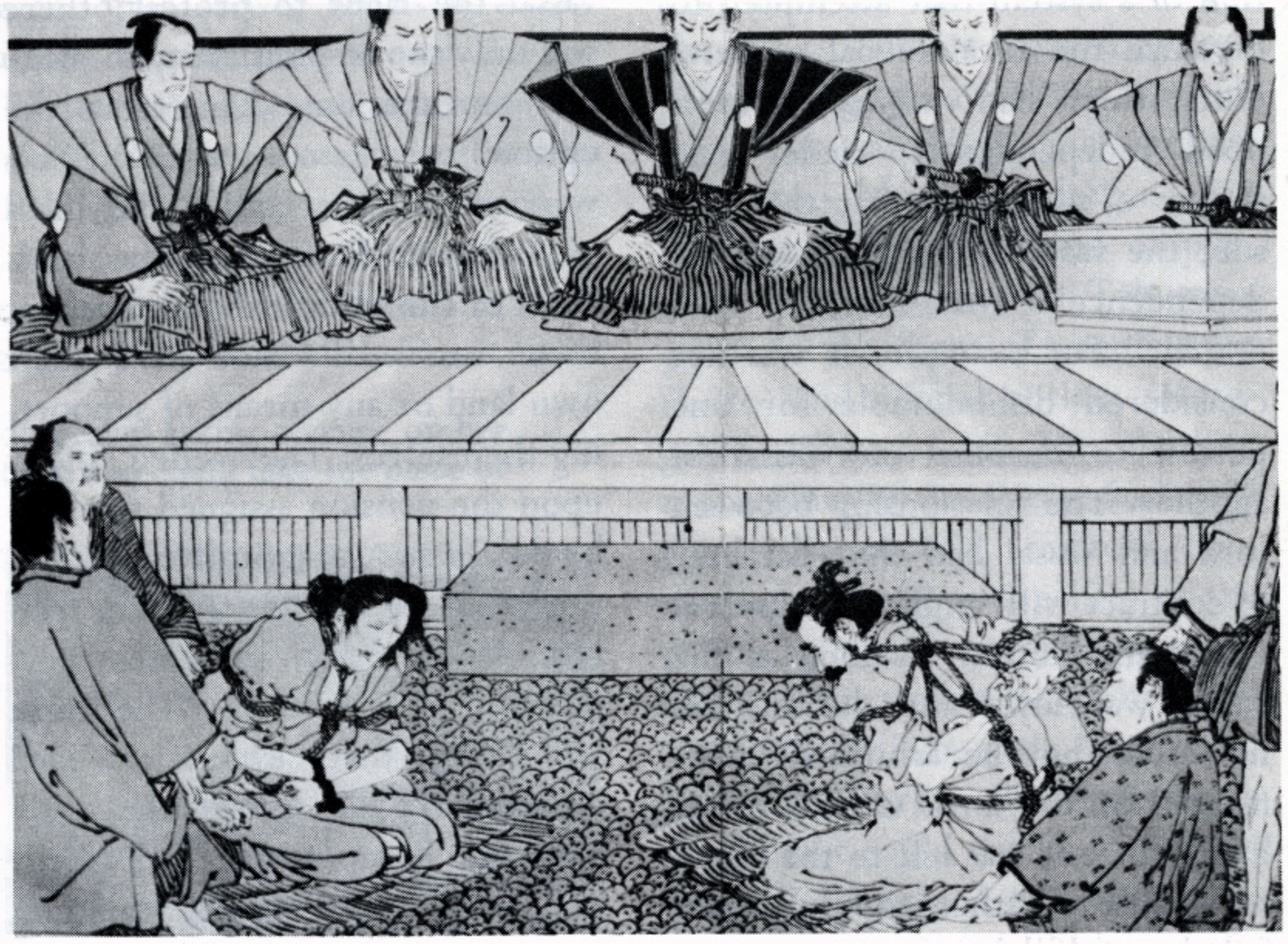
As the adage Wakon Yōsai *(Japanese spirit—Western technology) indicates, the traditional legal consciousness could not help but have an influence, whether consciously or unconsciously, on the process of adopting Western law and legal theories. In the analysis of this point, the emphasis will be on legal concepts and legal consciousness rather than the legal system itself. It should go without saying that legal concepts and legal consciousness are fruits which grow in the soil of a society's history. This study will proceed on that premise.*

It should not be forgotten, however, that the modern distinction between the economic "society" and the political "state" did not exist in the pre-modern period; only the "immediately political society" (Marx) existed. Therefore, we can not merely discuss the relationship between law (in its modern sense) and economic society. We must also consider the power structure as a central aspect of the study. Hence the title of this article—"law and the Tokugawa political structure."

While exploring the historical premises of modern Japanese law and legal theory we must (because of lack of space) devote primary attention to the period immediately preceding the modern period. This does not, of course, exhaust all of the historical premises which may be examined. Eventually, to obtain proper perspective, our investigation must be extended by backtracking from the pre-modern period to the Middle Ages and the Ancient period. The author has already written on those subjects; the reader may refer to those works.

I. The Pre-Modern Political Structure

ALMOST without exception, scholars regard the Tokugawa social system as a feudal society. This is true of both the scholars who consider a feudal system a negative factor and those scholars—for example, Professor Reischauer—who consider it a positive element. The Japanese word for "feudal system" (hōken sei) was borrowed from the Chinese term for the system that existed in the Chou period in China. The term was applied when Japanese scholars during the Edo period noted the similarities which the Chou system shared with the Tokugawa system (also called *bakuhan taisei*) and began to call the latter by the same term. There is therefore a historical basis for using the term "hōken sei" to refer to the Tokugawa system. But in the modern academic world, it is generally understood that the two were different and that the Tokugawa bears a closer resemblance to the feudal system which existed in Western Europe during the Middle Ages. For example, Professor Reischauer has maintained that Japan was the only country among the non-Western ones to succeed at "modernizing' itself because a Western-type feudal system and concepts of freedom and rights (the fundamental precepts of modern law) had already existed before the modern period. Without supporting or denying this assertion, other scholars concede that what Professor Reischauer refers to as the Tokugawa feudal system was indeed along the lines of the Western European model. On this point there is no disagreement between Professor Reischauer and Japanese scholars.



Are either of the above viewpoints correct? Both positions overlook some important differences between the European and Japanese systems. Certainly the Tokugawa system was built upon a system of two-fold master-servant relationships: *Shōgun—Daimyō* and *Daimyō—Samurai*. It is often thought that these relationships were based on personal loyalty. Further, since the Shōgun recognized the right of the Daimyō to rule independently (with the possible exception of the land which was directly under the control of the Imperial Household), it appears that the *Bakufu* could only govern the coun-

try in an indirect manner. These points provide a good basis for a direct comparison between the Tokugawa system and the Western European feudal system. However, when the systems are examined closely, the similarities become formalistic or superficial.

The lord-vassal relationship in the Western European type feudal system adopted the *Lehn* (feodum) feudal form. This was the foundation of a system that attempted to organize the local feudal powers, units which had originally developed independently, under one system of authority. For this reason, the vassal's "freedom and independence" was "largely tolerated." For example, it was not considered dishonorable for one person to become the vassal of another. The relationship between lord and vassal had the character of contract with explicit reciprocal rights and duties. As long as the vassal was loyal and dutiful, his fief could not be arbitrarily confiscated by the lord. On the other hand, since it was left to the vassal to decide whether the lord had failed to fulfill his duty, the principle that the vassal had a right to protest developed. The loyalty and duty of the vassal was always a personal matter; the relationship between the vassal and his own vassals or subjects was not a matter which concerned the lord (i.e., "My vassal's vassal is not my vassal'). Furthermore, a relationship with one lord did not prevent a separate *Lehn* type relationship with another lord from being established (i.e. the so-called double vassalage system).

Keeping these features of the *Lehn* system in mind, let us first examine the *Daimyō*-vassal relationship in the Japanese context. Nothing resembling the double vassalage system existed among Japan's pre-modern warriors. Similarly, almost nothing resembling a contract relationship with explicit reciprocal rights and duties existed. Nevertheless, the *Daimyō* could not act in a totally capricious manner in his relationship with his vassal. This latter point will be explained in greater detail later; for the time being, it is enough to point out that there was no explicit mutuality nor was there a concept which would allow the vassal the right to protest; there was only the responsibility to make recommendations (kansō) or the option to become a masterless warrior (rōnin). Unlike the lords of Western Europe or the landlords of the Middle Ages in Japan, these vassals did not have their own land or any means of supporting themselves. They relied chiefly upon the pension assigned to them by the *Daimyō*; practically speaking, there was no way for them to protest against any injustices perpetrated by the *Daimyō*. The norm which held that "even if the lord does not act like a lord, the vassal must act like a vassal" prevailed. The *Daimyō* thus was able to attain direct control over all of his domains by setting up his vassals, with few exceptions, as rice (i.e. tax) collectors. From these factors, it is clear that the relationship between the *Daimyō* and his vassal was completely different from the relationship that existed under the *Lehn* system.

Next, when we examine the relationship between the *Bakufu* and the *Daimyō*, we find that the *Daimyō* had legislative, taxing, and judicial powers independent of the *Bakufu*. Therefore it is often thought that the *Bakufu* exercised only indirect control over the lands of the *Daimyō*. However, records establish that the *Bakufu* had the power to force the *Daimyō* to move to new domains or to confiscate their lands at will. This is not to prove that the *Bakufu*'s role was limited to one of hegemony in a system of power relationships. The transfer of a *Daimyō* to a new domain or the confiscation of land often occurred because he failed to discipline his followers. In other words, the *Bakufu* took this action because the *Daimyō* "was unable to govern" his domain successfully. The *Daimyō* owed something more than personal loyalty to the *Bakufu*. The force of this is graphically indicated in the expression of *Daimyō* consciousness quoted below. According to the major tenets of the instructions (ikun) of the lord of the Okayama fief, Ikeda Mitsumasa:

> "Enriching the country and satisfying the people is the goal which the *Shōgun* seeks for all Japan, but since it is too difficult a task to be carried out alone, he places the various domains in the hands of the *Daimyō*. If any one of them takes any action inconsistent with this purpose, it is natural that he should lose his rank."

This kind of duty toward the *Bakufu* encompassed the content and the manner of governance. The concept that the sub-vassal was under direct duty of loyalty to the *Bakufu* existed (a fact which sets it fundamentally apart from the Lehn system's principle that, "my vassal's vassal is not my vassal"). This is reflected in the writings of Hoshina Masayuki, who instructed his vassals to disobey his descendants if they should plan a revolt against the *Bakufu*.

It is clear from the above that it is incorrect to consider the master-servant relationship of the Tokugawa system as similar to the Western-European type Lehn system. It is more appropriate to see premodern Japan as a substantially unified state than it is to compare it to a feudal state with an inter-

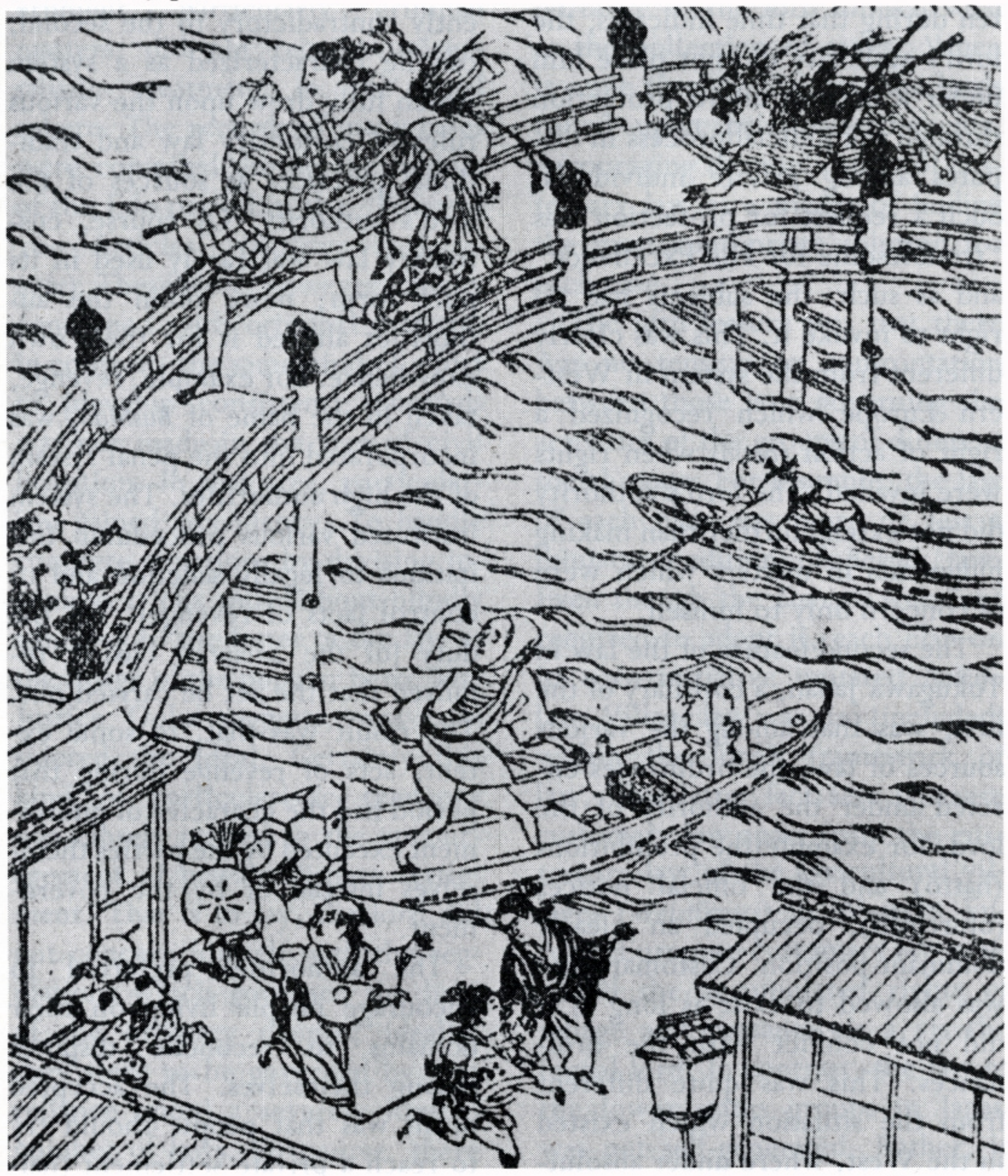
vening Lehn system. But, should it now be classified with the absolutist states? Without going into this point in depth, the answer is no. In the absolutist states of the West, a bureaucratic system and a standing army were gradually instituted to contain the power of the old aristocratic class. Under the Tokugawa system, the warriors who corresponded to the aristocratic class [of the West] themselves became the bureaucrats and the soldiers. This bureaucracy was not allowed to rationalize itself. For this reason, the fighting ethos of the warrior of the Middle Ages was distorted and flowed into bureaucratic organs. Pre-modern Japan did not witness the phenomenon experienced by the aristocracy of Western Europe which, secure in its ownership of property, was able to survive by maintaining its power to criticize the king, even while its old power was being hollowed away.

II. Pre-Modern Law

CONSIDERING the features mentioned above, let us now examine the nature of law in the Tokugawa political structure. First, "law" (hō) as it was understood in Tokugawa Japan was chiefly limited to matters concerning the administration of government and the police. In the absolute monarchies of the West, these matters were called *Polizeisache* (*Polizei* was a much broader concept than the present day police) and were regulated under the authority of royal edicts called *Polizeiordnungen* or *Landesordnungen*. These edicts sought to maintain order and morals in the social and economic spheres by regulating, for example, the kind of clothing people could wear (clothing was thought to be a symbol of one's social status), gambling, liquor consumption, profiteering, the hoarding of goods for sale at a later time, monopolies, and wage levels for lower class workers. The same kind of phenomenon existed in Tokugawa Japan in the form of prohibitions (hatto) and official notices (ofuregaki). However, in the absolute monarchies of the West, *Justizsache* (judicial matters), matters concerning the rights (Rechte) of the people to which only the case law of the court was to be applied, existed side by side with *Polizeisache*. In other words, theoretically, a royal edict could not exert control over *Justizsache*. *Polizeiordnungen* could not invade this area of the law. As will be explained later, this was a vestige of Middle Age legal concepts which held that the law could not be created by acts of human volition like the command [of an authority] or [individual] consent.

In essence, *Polizeisache* was not a subject with which the law (*Recht*) was concerned. Under the legal system of the Middle Ages, no qualitative distinction between the rights of the monarch and those of the other members of the state (i.e. his vassals and subjects) was recognized. Since the monarch was not a sovereign power but one of the constituent members of the political unit, disputes concerning the respective rights of the monarch and his subjects were handled

This illustration shows a woman of the Edo Period taking revenge on her husband's death. Private revenge was acceptable and could take the place of execution by public authorities.



in the courts where customary law rather than the royal edict promulgated under his authority was applied. Moreover, the courts, not unlike the High Courts (Parliaments) under the French absolute monarchy, were filled with members of the aristocracy who constantly sought to maintain their traditional privileges. The relationship of confrontation and compatibility between *Justizsache-recht* and *Polizeisache-polizeiordnun* indicates that the dualistic structure of the political unit (Monarch-Aristocracy), which had its origin in the political structure of the Middle Ages and which continued into the "*Ständestaat*," was not wiped away even under absolute rule.

Of course, royal absolutism, which sought to establish [the concept of] sovereign authority did not find it very comfortable under these circumstances. In effect, the royal edict gradually invaded the sphere of private law. For example, if a system which registered land transactions was established by edict, the edict functioned as the substantive law in transactions concerning land. In this way, the line between the sphere of law and that of the edicts gradually became unclear. The concept which excluded royally promulgated ordinances from what was thought to be the proper area of the law was, however, a significant feature of early Western systems.

There was a near equivalent *Polizeiordnungen* in Tokugawa Japan. It constituted all law as it was known at that time. In Japan there was no categorization of rights and duties which comprehended the relationship between individuals of superior and inferior social position. Legal concepts different from those of Western Europe controlled relationships even between two individuals of equal social position. For example, judgments concerning land disputes among peasants were made with a view toward preserving the possibility of collecting taxes. This affected the law by making tax remittances or the registration in survey records indistinguishable from title itself (as opposed to evidence of title or something from which an inference might be drawn). Mortgage rights in land (*kakiiré*) (*shichiiré*) were also regulated with the objective of securing the collection of taxes. Also, the government of the lords failed to give protection to monetary obligations through the judicial process in some cases and eventually annulled certain types of obligations altogether. As the complaint which began with the words, "I most humbly beg your pardon for the request I must make" written during that time indicates, the lord's authority did not place him under a duty to afford protection through the judicial process in disputes among private individuals. Such a request for protection was "troublesome for His Excellency" and as such, the subjects had no right to invoke it. This was clearly different from the system in Western Europe which recognized a right of action (*actio*) when rights were invaded. The lord's authority did not extend further than making judgments in matters which were of concern only to himself.

The second feature of the law in Tokugawa Japan, a corollary of the first, was that among the various sources of law, the ordinances enacted under the authority of the lord, for example the prohibitions (hatto) and the official notices (ofuregaki), occupied an clearly dominant position. Customary law was allowed to exist as long as it did not conflict with the ordinances. This was quite different from the situation which existed in the West, where under absolutism, customary law embodied in *Justizrecht* rivaled and checked the growth of the royal edicts. In Tokugawa Japan, the legal maxim, "Hi Ri Hō Ken Ten," poignantly expressed the situation described above. What this meant in effect was that injustice (Hi) will be checked by reason (Ri) and reason in turn will be checked by the prohibitions (Hō). The prohibitions, on the other hand, were subservient to the authority of the temporal ruler (Ken). In other words, even what was generally assumed to be "reasonable" by the common people (i.e. under customary law) was not put into effect prior to the application of the "prohibitions" which were freely promulgated and revised by the authority that existed at any particular time.

The third feature, albeit apparently contradictory to the second, can be characterized as a system which fully drew upon the various rules of customary law and traditional practices as sources of the lord's authority. Of course, customary law was rarely used in its pure form; more often the authorities altered it for their own expedience. For example, revenge, taken in the name of *Bushidō*, was incorporated into the penal system of the high authorities. The system instituted various procedural limitations to legally sanction and to control [acts of revenge]. Yet the duty [of the *Samurai*] clearly required that the act be carried out. The result was that, to some extent, acts of revenge during that period had the character of punishment executed by the parties themselves instead of by the government.

The authorities preferred to encourage people living on their domains to reconcile disputes among themselves. The accepted norm was that people should try to reach a private settlement (nai-

sai) among themselves before taking the dispute to the court. Needless to say, people employed customary law in the process of reaching this kind of private settlement. Obviously there was a close relationship between this phenomenon and the notion that the ruler was under no duty to litigate disputes and that the ruled had no right to demand access to the legal process.

The fourth feature was that the appropriateness of a [particular] solution for each particular dispute was considered to be of first importance while little thought was given to the overall [theoretical] consistency of the various solutions. In other words, what developed were particularistic rather than universalistic tendencies. Of course, it is not accurate to say that matters concerning the government, particularly criminal matters, did not receive universalistic treatment in the legal sphere. The records of many cases were compiled during the middle of the Edo period in the "Edict of 100 Articles" (*kujigata osadamegaki*). These were, however, chiefly concerned with criminal matters. In contrast, the same kind of effort to [develop consistent] standards was not made in the area of civil litigation. In that area, particularism gained ascendency. To handle concrete situations by devising ingenious tricks and without blindly adhering to the letter of the law as the image of the popular hero, Mr. Justice Ooka suggests, was considered the ideal. Certainly this kind of particularistic tendency was closely related to the encouragement of private dispute settlement. That is to say, the lord did not concern himself with the regulations which governed the lives of the ordinary people; ideally, they were to be governed by [put reliance upon] a severely limited number of laws. Of course, there

Ooka Echizen no Kami, a distinguished judge in the Edo Period.

were some regulations involving even trifling matters but they were related to matters of great importance to the lord himself such as the collection of taxes. When it came to civil disputes, the lords relied upon private settlements, encouraging the application of customary law as a means of finding the most appropriate solution for each case.

The fifth feature was that there was no tension or confrontation between those laws governing the activities of the groups of different social strata. For example, the law of each clan was more or less a miniature edition of *Bakufu* law. Even though the *Daimyō* were not required to adopt it, each clan on its own initiative imitated *Bakufu* law. Village law was also [included] within the lord's framework of law. This latter fact sets Japanese customary law apart from the customary law of the agricultural villages (*Weistümers*) in Western Europe. European customary law contained the accumulated rights of village and peasants vis à vis the feudal lord. In contrast, the law of the lower status groups in Japan was not self-generated. Rather, it had the character of self-regulation, explicitly, or at least implicitly, forced on it by the higher status group. For example, there was the case of a *Samurai* family where the father killed his prodigal son and the *Bakufu*, rather than treating the father as a murderer, punished him for failing to adequately oversee his son's behavior (*kantoku fuyuki-todoki*). This case illustrates the application of the internal regulations which were imposed on the lower status group (i.e. vassals, family). The exercise of the regulation in this case was primarily entrusted to the father who was obliged to rule his family successfully for the benefit of the higher status group (i.e. *Bakufu*). Therefore, he was not punished for killing his son; that act was deemed to be a disciplinary measure. Yet the son had become uncontrollable, and eventually necessitated that his father kill him, only because the father had failed to fulfill his obligation to adequately oversee his family. The *Bakufu*'s basis for punishment was the father's failure to perform well for the higher status group.

Needless to say, the regulations which governed this warrior's house were never completely of the self-generating type. Indeed, this superficial self-regulation was never posited as anything more than a means of maintaining the order desired by the higher status group. The very existence of this feature was the reason that there was no contradiction between the superiority of the ordinances (as opposed to other sources of law in effect) and the encouragement of private settlements (which applied customary law). Rather, a predetermined harmony between both of these could be expected. Further, particularistic dispute resolution did not preclude the use of universalistic legal concepts.

The sixth feature, which is related to the fifth feature, was that no decisive difference existed between the norms of various social groups (i.e. political groups). [As can be understood from what was said above, this was because] *Bakuhan* society was stabilized and unified. Within this homogenous, stabilized society, there was an assumption that each individual thought in much the same way. That is, different individuals could not have different thoughts and principles. Under that assumption, conflicts or disputes, by definition, could not exist. When they did arise, they were attributed to an individual's "lack of virtue." In contrast to this belief in those countries where individual differences were tolerated, conflicts and disputes were not thought to be unusual. Efforts were made to develop rational institutions for dispute resolution. The importance of this in West European law is exemplified by the emphasis on judicial procedure and due process of law. Because that system operated on the premise that different individuals have different thoughts and beliefs, it was often difficult to decide in concrete cases what constituted the substance of justice. Hence, to seek an impartial and defectless procedure rather than to insist on finding substantive justice was deemed to be a more reasonable method of dispute resolution.

In Japan, by contrast, private settlements were encouraged. People did not like to become involved in lawsuits. There were many popular sayings which had pejorative nuances like, *saiban zata* ("court fight") and *deru tokoro e dete kokubyaku o tsukete morau* ("let's go where we have to go [i.e. the authorities] and let them decide who is right and who is wrong"). By the time a suit had begun, the relationship that had formerly existed between the parties had already been destroyed. These facts reflect the Japanese view toward conflicts mentioned above. Thus, the lack of a concept of a right to bring suit, described as the first feature above, cannot be solely attributed to the irresponsibility and capriciousness of the ruling class. The relative unimportance of law suits in Japan, as compared to Western societies, can probably be linked to the lack of this concept.

As the various features of Japanese law mentioned above indicate, there was no clear distinction between the legal and the social spheres. Under these conditions, the normative "*giri*" (duty) system developed. In the Western European system, where the advocacy of the respective rights of the parties in lawsuits collided with each other, specific legal decisions were reached within a framework of general and universalistic norms by following a procedural order. At the same time, there existed a social framework in which, at least in form, individuals conferred unilateral benefits upon others. In reality, however, there were implicit expectations that the unilateral benefit would be rewarded by counter-benefits. Social intercourse of this type could be established in Europe and its specific rules govern successfully because the rules were considered applicable only within small groups of homogeneous constituent entities (i.e., social élites). The rules were effective because persons who received unilateral benefits without perceiving the implicit expectations were thought to be barbarians and were excluded from the social world. In Japan, by contrast, due to the homogeneity of the society as a whole, thought patterns similar to the rules of social intercourse mentioned above were thought to be applicable not only to the small, closed groups but to the entire society.

In Japan, that system manifested itself in *giri* (duty). Rights were not advocated in a clear cut manner. The other party had to perceive the tacit existence of commonly held expectations and then fulfill them. From the Japanese viewpoint, the rights of one party did not create a reciprocal duty in the other party but rather the obligee's precepts taught him to "expect nothing" whereas the obliger's precepts taught him to "do more than is expected." For example, Ninomiya Sontoku said that Kaibara Ekken's work entitled "Great Learning for Women" (onna daigaku) was the "greatest treasure of womanhood," but it "would be quite a mistake for a man to read 'Great Learning for Women' and think that he knows about womanhood. 'Great Learning for Women' is for the instruction of women . . . it contains nothing that should be read by men." [This was an example stating the policy that men should not expect obedience from women even though women were in fact required to obey]. Or as Motoori Norinaga said of one type of protest thought in the writings of Mencius, "this is something to be taught to the ruler" so "it is nothing to be read by the vassals." This kind of thinking was not something which was merely prevalent in the writings of the academicians but was often included as part of the family precepts (*kakun*) during the Edo period. Among the family precepts of the *hatamoto* Isé Teijō were lessons which taught the lord that:

> [T]he lord should not impose a burden of gratitude (On) on his vassal for the pension given him; but it is the duty (*giri*) of the lord to feel grateful for the laborious service performed by

his vassal. The vassal should not make the master feel grateful for the laborious service he renders but it is the duty of the vassal to feel grateful for the pension he receives and to be willing to give up his life for his lord.

In the words of Mito Nariaki:

> "[P]eople commonly speak of the 'lord-vassal relationship' but the lord should think of it as the vassal-lord relationship because it is the vassal who forms its essence. The lord who has no vassals cannot be truly be called a lord."

What is found here is not a relationship of corresponding rights and duties, one in which equivalent counter rewards are demanded for so much benefit bestowed upon another (i.e. "never impose a burden of gratitude for a benefit conferred by yourself") but a relationship in which the existence and degree of gratitude due to another is determined by insight into the mutual relations of the parties. Duty is fulfilled by perceiving the tacit expectations of the other party. With this understanding, unilateral acts [which conferred benefit] were mutually exchanged. It is significant that in *Bakuhan* society, a criterion similar to the social rule mentioned above (i.e., in the Western European sense), was applied to the master-servant relationships which formed the structural basis of that society. The duty norm pervaded Tokugawa society. There was a dual structure because the scope of the right to expect something and the scope of the corresponding duty did not coincide. It was considered rapacious (*akogi*), inhuman (*chi mo namida mo nai*), and greedy (*yokubari*) to make explicit demands which came within the scope of the other person's duty. Conversely, treating the absence of a clear demand as good fortune by failing to fulfill one's duty was considered ungrateful (*on shirazu*). If one looks at the structure of "*giri's*" scope, it is no wonder that suits were usually brought only after the relationship between the parties had broken down or, by the same token, that "private settlements" were encouraged. In a society in which this kind of rule governed, suits occurred only between inhuman wretches and the ungrateful.

Of course, what was said above concerns only the structure of the norm and not the way in which it manifested itself in concrete situations. Certainly all pre-modern Japanese would not have conformed to this norm. As society became traditionalized and stabilized near the end of the era, the concept of duty in principle and the advocacy of naked parochial interests as well as human feeling (ninjō) became remarkably polarized. By the time the modern period had been entered, the meaning of "giri" had been reduced to nothing more than "keeping up appearances" (tsukiai). Furthermore, even in the pre-modern period the individual who did conform to the duty norm knew that a balance between his actions and the reciprocal actions of others would be reached in the long run, and that it was in his long run interests [to conform]. One passage from the Shōhei Yawa (Causerie during Peace) adequately demonstrates this:

> A samurai gives up his life for his master. If the master is not grateful and does not show his feelings, he will not have the loyalty of the samurai. If the lord does not have the loyalty of the samurai, how can the lord expect to rely upon him in a time of crisis?

Despite the fact that this kind of calculation was really behind the "giri" norm, it cannot be said that it was not valuable as a norm. Apart from religious or moral norms, legal norms which actually regulate social relationships cannot be divorced from certain interests. In other words, it is quite natural that legal norms should be based upon calculation and the pursuit of interests. Indeed, the very purpose of legal norms is to maintain order by adjusting competing interests.

Conclusion

In summary, the political structure of Tokugawa Japan had characteristics [distinct] from those of the feudal and absolutist states of Western Europe. Similarly the features of the law were different from those of Western law. Broadly speaking, both society and law were in a corresponding relationship but it is unrealistic to think that the latter was completely formed by the former. Indeed, most of the characteristics of pre-modern Japanese law went hand in hand with the peculiar structure of *Bakuhan* society but those characteristics did not all originate in the medieval period. Further, all of the special characteristics of the law [as they existed] did not disappear with the extinction of the *Bakuhan* system after the Meiji restoration. The task of explaining the detailed relationship between pre-modern law and the political structure is left for the future. To fully understand the relationship, the historical predecessors of the pre-modern period, the Middle Ages (*chūsei*) and the ancient period (*kodai*) must be investigated, and the character of the pre-modern period itself must be re-examined from a number of perspectives. 圏

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Religion

The Dawn of Mahāyāna Buddhism

by Dr. Nakamura Hajimé

Bust of Tara Bodhisattva of light ocher sandstone. Indian. 9th – 10th century A.D.

Traditional and conservative Buddhism, or Hīnayāna Buddhism, still had an overwhelmingly dominant influence on society in the Buddhist world of the Kusān dynasty (the beginning of the 1st to the middle of the 5th century A.D.). It was during this dynasty that a new religious reform movement arose among the people and their leaders, the preachers. This new religion was called Mahāyāna Buddhism or Mahāyāna.

The word Mahāyāna signifies "great vehicle" and is said to encompass the three meanings of "great", "many", and "superior." In other words, Mahāyāna means, firstly, "great" teachings. Secondly, it means the teachings which redeem, or save, "many" people. And lastly it means "superior" teachings. Mahāyāna Buddhism arose from the people in general, and was supported especially by the merchant class.

The traditional or orthodox Buddhism is generally called Hīnayāna, which means "abandoned vehicle." This contemptuous appellation was, of course, applied to them by the Mahāyāna Buddhists. The traditional Buddhist sects never referred to their own Buddhism in this way. The Hīnayānists believed their religion to be orthodox and so ignored Mahāyāna Buddhism completely.

The attitudes which were accepted by the traditional Buddhist sects were based upon understandable reasoning: even though some change and reform had taken place, these sects had continued to adhere to the original scriptures of early Buddhism which conveyed the direct teachings of Gotama (Sakyamuni), who had existed as a real being. Thus these sects had kept faith with the traditional doctrines. Although there were considerable differences in the phraseology and

Sandstone image of Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva. Indian, 5th century A.D.

Four-headed Vajra Tara Bodhisattva of light ocher sandstone. Indian. 11th. century A.D.

the compilation of the scriptures of these sects, there was no essential difference in content. On the other hand, the Mahāyānist Buddhists created entirely new sutras in which Sakyamuni was described as an ideal being rather than as a historical figure.

One reason that the Mahāyāna Buddhists criticised the traditional sects is as follows:

The traditional sects enjoyed the political as well as the financial support of the king, the lords of a province and the wealthy people who owned a tremendous number of great manors. The traditional sects existed on this type of social foundation. The Mahāyāna Buddhists, on the other hand, did not own great manors (at least during the early period) because this sect arose from the common people. No monumental inscriptions nor any written records of the early period inform us that a manor was ever donated to this religious body. The Mahāyānists even cautioned against flattering the authorities, stating: "Do not approach a king nor his ministers" (from the Lotus Sutra or Hoké-kyō); and they took pride in the purity and cleanliness of their belief.

Mahāyānist sutras state that there is not much difference between a king and a robber in the respect that both of them inflict pain on the people in general. They advise reciting the sutras and stress that although it is charitable for the wealthy to donate a great amount of money for the construction of a stupa, it is incomparably greater to recite and copy the sutras and to accept and believe in them. The Diamond Sutra (Kongō-kyō), a Mahāyānist sutra, places even less emphasis on the worship of a stupa by clearly stating: "Where the sutras exist there is a stupa. Where the sutras exist are Buddha and his disciples. If you keep and recite the

sutras the sinful acts of the past will disappear."

Every sect of Hīnayāna Buddhism had an established social influence based on its ownership of a tremendous amount of property. The believers in this Buddhism kept themselves aloof from the people and considered themselves to be free from defilement. They assumed self-righteous and high-brow attitudes. They resided in an enormous monastery away from all human habitation, meditated quietly, practiced contemplation, and studied the complicated doctrines. Their aim was emancipation, i.e., to reach the stage of Arhata (to complete the ascetic exercises of Hīnayāna Buddhism) then to enter Nirvana, and finally to attain supreme bliss in the world beyond. It was very difficult, however, to attain the supreme bliss before the coming of death. The achievement of this ideal was possible only to the limited number of people who led lives of asceticism as *bhikkhu* (ascetic monks).

Taking into consideration that there existed a conspicuous difference between the old and the new Buddhism in historical tradition and social foundation, it is understandable that the traditional Buddhist sects, which had an established position as well as influence in society, ignored the new religious movement. It was also natural for the Mahāyāna Buddhists to criticize traditional Buddhism, which they referred to as Hīnayāna. The traditional and conservative Buddhists of the South Asian countries, for example, did not like this appellation.

The Mahāyānists severely denounced the attitudes which were assumed by the traditional Buddhists and looked upon them with contempt, regarding them to be self-righteous and self-centered and stressing the importance of

Standing Bodhisattva depicted on linen. Excavated at Tunhuang, China. 10th century A.D.

altruism: "Hīnayānists devote themselves only to pacifying their minds, conquering their passions and entering Nirvana. They seek attainment of supreme bliss for themselves and never think of others. Mahāyāna Buddhism is against these ideas. Mahāyānists wish to save all living creatures from suffering on the basis of the spirit of compassion. 'The mind of Buddha is nothing but great compassion.' (from Kanmuryōju-kyō). Mahāyānist Buddhism teaches the saving of all mankind and every other living creature (the animate) from the suffering endured in the world of transmigration. Before one can reach the world beyond he has to save others."

Those who practiced this altruism were called Bosatsu (Bodhisattva). The concept of Bosatsu was preached in Jainism as well, and Mahātāna Buddhism especially placed much emphasis upon it. All of those who vowed to save the animate and practiced this concept were called Bosatsu whether they were *bhikkhu* or lay believers such as rulers, merchants, or craftsmen. Bosatsu is, after all, a man who practices saving and helping every kind of living creature at the sacrifice of himself. The practice of Bosatsu, altruism, is based on compassion and contains both spiritual and material aspects. For example, there are two ways of giving charity, or alms. One is spiritual altruism, or *hōsé*, the giving of alms such as preaching Buddhist doctrines; and the other is *zaisé*, the giving of material things. It would be ideal if this altruism, based on compassion, would be practiced by everyone, but it is rather difficult for ordinary people to do this. Therefore Mahāyāna Buddhists taught their believers to maintain a devout belief in various Buddhas and Bosatsu, to be saved from suffering by their

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A MASTER'S TOUCH

The production of lacquer pre-dates the Christian Era. By the 8th century the artizans of the Nara Period were adding rich inlays of gold and silver to the still wet lacquer to produce original designs of great artistic merit. Here is an exquisite example of a modern 'maki-e' masterpiece from the studio of Mr. Shozan Takano. On this ornamental box a Japanese 'uzura' or quail is captured for all time against a field of burnished gold. Mr. Takano's 70 years of working in gold lacquer has been recognized by the Japanese Government. In 1955 he was honored with the title of Living National Treasure.

Although 85 years old he still works 8 hours a day diligently refining his own distinctive and intricate style. Unsatisfied he says 'My time is short, yet there remains so much to be done.' It is this sense of mission that guides his hands and sustains him in his work.

NIPPON STEEL

TOKYO, JAPAN

Two Avalokitesvara painted on silk. Chinese. 9th century
All the images, mural paintings and book covers appearing in this article are in the possession of the National Museum, New Delhi. From "Sekai-no-Bijutsukan" published by Kodansha.

Continued from page 31

mercy, and to practice merciful activities by relying on their compassion.

Hīnayāna Buddhists believed in the existence of only one Buddha and one land of Buddha, and the concept of two Buddhas was not accepted. Later the notion that other Buddhas resided in other directions at the present time was gradually formed. Mahāyāna Buddhism developed this notion into the concept that an unlimited number of Buddhas of the past, present and future come from ten different directions to appear and live in this world. Firstly, the concept of Ashukubutsu (Aksobhya), who resided in the east, was established. This concept was followed by that of Amidabutsu (Amitābha), who resided in the west. A third concept, that of Mirokubutsu (Maitreya) was established, who the Mahāyānists believed would appear in this world 5,670 million years after the death of Sakyamuni in order to save the rest of the animate who had not yet been saved by Sakyamuni. Bosatsu were also "superhumanized" and their great compassion to save the animate was emphasized. This tendency was conspicuously evident in the concepts of Kanzeon Bosatsu (Avalokiteśvara), Monju Bosatsu (Mañjuśrī) and Fugen Bosatsu (Samantabhadra).

Mahāyāna Buddhism taught that one could be saved by the devout belief in various Buddhas and Bosatsu and that one's deeds should be accomplished in accordance with their vows. It also taught that Bosatsu appeared in this world disguised as various figures in order to save the animate. This was their Original Vow. For example, Kanzeon Bosatsu was said to appear in this world disguised as thirty-three different figures and not to enter Nirvana himself because he was devoted to saving the animate with compassion. Taking another example, Jizō Bosatsu was said to be born in a wicked place, live with the wicked and not enter into the peaceful stage of Nirvana himself. Thus did Mahāyāna Buddhism place much emphasis on the practice of saving others.

With the development of the belief in various Buddhas and Bosatsu arose the desire to worship them by the use of images. As a result, a number of images of various Buddhas and Bosatsu were produced, mainly in Mathurā city in central India and Gandhāra

Wooden book covers of Prajnaparamita-Sutra. Indian. Holes in the wooden book covers were for strings to bind palm leaves, which were used for writing sutras. 11th–12th century (above). 13th–14th century (below).

district in northwest India. In Nathurā these images were made in accordance with traditional Indian art. The images made in Gandhāra were noticeably influenced by Greek art.

Since the religious movement of Mahāyāna Buddhism began, the Mahāyānists employed teaching methods which were suitable to the people in general of the time. To appeal to them they taught that if one had a devout belief in Buddhas and Bosatsu one would become happy, wealthy, and free from illness and misfortune. It is worthy of note that Mahāyānists made use of *dharani*, a mystic Buddhist incantation, as an important means to propagate their religion. Until then, the use of *dharani* had been prohibited in Buddhism. The conservative sects still kept this tradition and took pride in maintaining it on a high intellectual level. When Mahāyāna Buddhism was founded, however, it compromised tentatively with the people for social reasons. In other words, they made Buddhism easy for the people to accept. The Mahāyānists of that time, who had neither great manors nor personal property, gained and expanded their social influence by using *dharani*. Although this policy attained great success, it was a contributing cause of the corruption of Mahāyāna Buddhism which took place later.

Standing image of Tara Bodhisattva. Indian. ca. 10th century A.D. Made of chlorite.

It seems that the words of *dhārani* originally did not have much magic and mystical meaning. For example, Hannyashin-kyō, a Buddhist sutra in Sanskrit, ends with the following sentence: "*gate gate pāragate pārasamgate bodhi svāhā*," which means "Go and go, go to the world beyond. May you attain the enlightenment which reaches the world beyond!" Hsuan-tsang (Genjō), famous priest of China, did not wish to convey this meaning as it was written, so he hid its original meaning. He translated this sentence phonetically by using the Chinese characters which corresponded to the pronunciation of the original sentence. The Chinese people did not understand the sentence at all. Hsuan-tsang aimed at giving a magic and mystical effect and an ethereal impression by translating this way.

Early Mahāyāna Buddhism had not established a systematic organi-

zation as a religious order nor did it favour minute and detailed philosophical discussion because it originated from the religious movement of the people and it did not depend on the ruling classes and so had not attained prosperity. The Mahāyāna Buddhists expressed their deep conviction and devout beliefs over and over by means of bold and magnificent descriptions. Their sutras, which developed as a result of these descriptions, were based in part on the Buddhist tales which the people favoured and in part on stories of the life of Buddha. Constructed in dramatic style, these sutras were literary works which were written so as to agree with the tastes of the people and which had for the people a deep philosophical significance as well.

Since these sutras adopted extravagant and exaggerative descriptions to express their thinking, it seems that Mahāyāna was unsuitable to the temperament of the Japanese people, who favoured a plain way of thinking. Nevertheless Mahāyāna, from its very nature as a universal religion, spread throughout the East. The traditional Buddhism, Hināyāna, also spread outside of India, although its prevalence was limited to the countries having similar natural features to those of India. In such countries as China, Tibet, Mongolia, Vietnam, Korea and Japan, Mahāyāna Buddhism is followed.

Some Japanese Buddhist priests refer to Japan as "the natural land to embrace Mahāyāna." It must be difficult for the Japanese, with the psychology peculiar to them, to observe such Hināyānist precepts as "only three articles of clothing are allowed to be worn" and "a meal is to be taken in the morning only." It is understandable that they more easily accepted Mahāyānā, which was more practical and flexible. 東

Bodhisattva. Mural painting excavated by British archaeologist Sir Aurel Stein at Khotan, India. 8th century A.D.

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Worshipping Bodhisattva depicted on a wall painting in the Khotan area, India. Early 7th cenutry A.D.

A House with a Straw-thatched Roof

Tokyo has a humid, sticky summer. Despite the discomfort, some people manage to enjoy a relatively cool summer without an air-conditioner or even an electric fan. To our surprise, this is due to building their houses with a straw-thatched roof. Such a house, which has been fast disappearing, is valued highly these days when most people are obliged to lead lives of frugality.

The great majority of the houses of Japanese farmers and fishermen used to be built with a thatched roof. There are many defects to such a roof: it has little durability; the thatching requires much time and trouble; and, what is worse, it is entirely useless and indeed dangerous in case of fire. Despite these defects, the thatched roof was prevalent in Japan because its advantages far outshone its disadvantages.

The greatest advantage is that a thatched roof makes the house more comfortable for people to live in: one can enjoy a relatively cool summer and a comparatively warm winter. Of the two extremes in climate, it is more advantageous to be able to cool the house in summer because of the heat and humidity in most of the country with the exception of some districts such as Hokkaidō. Because of this kind of weather, emphasis has been placed on constructing Japanese houses to be comfortable in summer; less emphasis has been placed on winter comfort. A noted essayist and poet of the 14th century, Yoshida Kenkō, wrote in "Tsurezure-gusa," a famous collection of literary essays: "Regarding architecture, the suitability of the house for the climate of summer should be aimed at. One can tolerate the climate of winter in any kind of house."

Some of the farmhouses which occasionally can be seen in the rural districts are constructed in

A group of typical old-fashioned houses in Nenba village. (Photograph by Kobayashi Masato)

Chigi, ornamental cross-beams on the roof of a thatched farmhouse in Nenba village at the foot of Mt. Fuji, Yamanashi Prefecture.

traditional Japanese style with a thatched roof. The roof is large and the eaves long, which are characteristics of Japanese traditional architecture and which are considered to have been developed because of their proof against extremes in weather conditions.

The fact that a house with a thatched roof offers a relatively cool temperature on hot summer days is attributed to the adiabatic quality of the thatching material—straw or miscanthus—as well as to the long eaves which prevent the sun's rays from reaching into the house, although the eaves have the disadvantage of causing the house to be a bit dark during the day. To combat this, various inventions were devised in order to fill the house with more light, and so more *shōji*, paper sliding doors, were installed. The architectural style of those farmhouses which still remain is said to have been developed around the middle of the Edo Period (1603–1867).

Another reason for the prevalence of the thatched roof was that both straw and miscanthus were widespread and therefore easily available to the farming and fishing villagers and this kind of roofing was less expensive than shingles or tile. Furthermore, the construction of a thatched roof did not (at least at first) require the employment of artisans nor even special tools. Even laymen could do the work by using the tools they had at hand. If the farmer was short of labour on his own land, he had only to ask for help from his neighbors and treat them with rice cakes and saké.

The farmers and the fishermen did not construct these thatched roofs just for practical purposes, that is, for only keeping out the rain and maintaining them at suitable temperatures during the summer and winter. Around the

Old-fashioned houses in Hinohara Village, the westernmost part of Tokyo.

Straw for thatching is easily available to the farmers. →

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The style of this thatched-roof house is called gasshō-zukuri.

Photograph by Maeda Shinzō

second half of the Edo Period, when the villagers began to grow a little more affluent, they began to take into consideration the beauty of the roof as well as its practicality and devised more elaborate roofs because they were the most conspicuous part of the house. A trimming tool was developed to give the roof a smooth, soft, velvet-like appearance instead of the traditional rough-looking surface. New ways to give form to various curves in the thatching were devised. With the development of new tools and techniques, the work of thatching a roof came well beyond the capacity of the

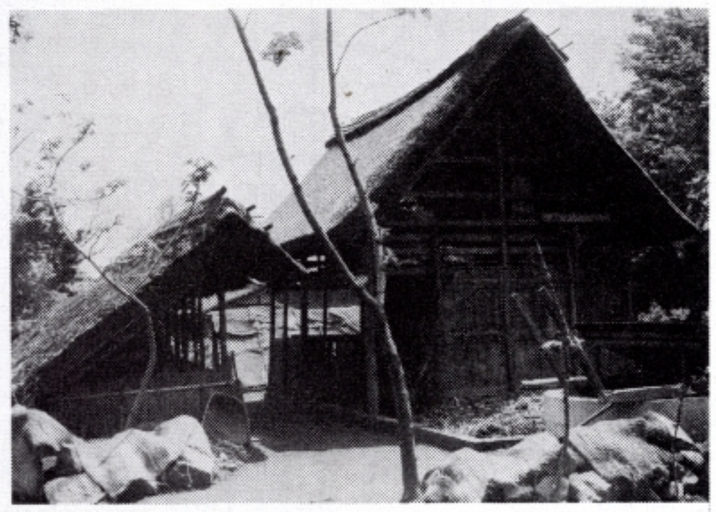
Typical house of a wealthy farmer in the Kanto Plain. The style of this roof is called yosemune-zukuri. Yachiyo Village, Ibaraki Prefecture.

laymen, and thus professional thatchers appeared. Their appearance brought about the development of one special tool after another and advanced techniques for thatching, which resulted in a more sophisticated-looking roof. Although we refer to these artisans as "professional," they were unable to make a living by thatching alone (because a roof must be thatched only about once every forty years), and had to engage in farming or fishing as a second source of income. The regions in which these artisans worked were necessarily limited in size. In addition, because the climatical and natural features varied, each region developed its own style of thatching.

The old-fashioned farmhouses varied in appearance due to the architectural style, shape of the roof, etc. Although the exteriors varied, almost all of them had a fixed room plan. The fundamental and most typical arrangement for the interior is shown in Fig. I.

As illustrated in Fig. I, the room with the earth floor played the most important role because it was the working space of the house. In this room the food and agricultural implements were stored. When the people were done with farming labours they processed their crop and worked at nights in this large room with the earth floor. In some houses part of the room was used as a stable. The other rooms in the house were built with the floors elevated so as to lessen the humidity. The kitchen floor was made of wood; the floors in the other rooms were covered with *tatami*,

The style of the stable roof is called "Kirizuma-zukuri".



This farmhouse in irimoya style is typical of Okutama District, Tokyo. The roof is thatched with miscanthus and the bark of cedar trees.

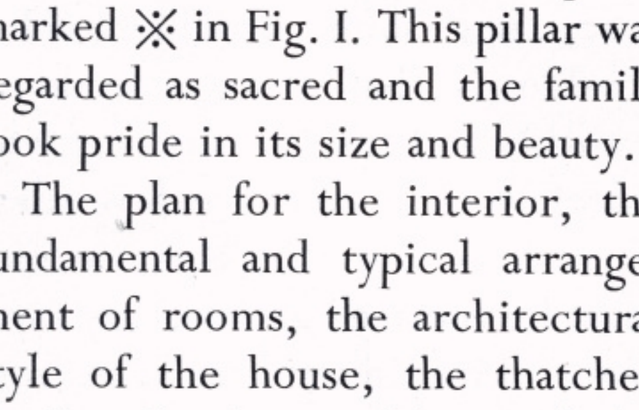
straw mats. The kitchen also served as the living room: *Irori*, a hearth which is made by digging a hole in the floor, was constructed in the center of the kitchen and the family was happy and comfortable sitting in a circle around it. The room at the front of the house served primarily as a drawing room but occasionally as a family room. Called *zashiki*, this was a special room used for receiving important guests or for holding a ceremony such as a marriage, the worship of ancestors, or a funeral. The sleeping room, generally windowless, was assigned to husband and wife and the valuables of the household were stored there. Every room was partitioned with removeable paper or wooden sliding doors so that at any time they were opened fully, two or three small rooms would become one large one. The room at the front of the house and the drawing room, both of which faced the south, were framed by a verandah. A large pillar called *daikoku-bashira* stood in the place marked ※ in Fig. I. This pillar was regarded as sacred and the family took pride in its size and beauty.

The plan for the interior, the fundamental and typical arrangement of rooms, the architectural style of the house, the thatched roof, and other architectural details of the old-fashioned farmhouse are all the result of the great effort and the wisdom of the farmers. These farmers, most of whom were poor, attempted to obtain the most desirable living conditions at the least possible expense. As agricultural methods advanced, farm machines such as tractors inevitably changed the living style of the farmers and subsequently caused changes in the structure of their houses. For example, the tile roof has been replacing the thatched roof and the gas stove has been replacing the hearth. This tendency can be seen even in the rural districts and means that it is now nearly impossible to find a house with a thatched roof in cities.

Now we would like to introduce a special house with a straw-thatched roof which is in Tōkyō. It is extremely unusual these days to find such a thatched-roof house in the big city, and the newspaper Sankei Shimbun recently gave much space to writing about it. This house is located in Kakinokizaka, Tōkyō, a well-known high-class

A typical 17th-century straw-thatched house in Kawachi (now Osaka). The ancestors of the present owner were the heads of the village.

Interior plan of a typical farmhouse.
Fig. 1



Unique scalloped-edged roof of a three-story farmhouse in the mountains, Yamagata Prefecture. In the winter the snow often reaches to the 3rd floor, so special windows (happo) were built for exit.

A thatched-roof house is rare in Tokyo! This house, in Kakinokizaka, belongs to Mr. Kosugi.

residential part of the city.

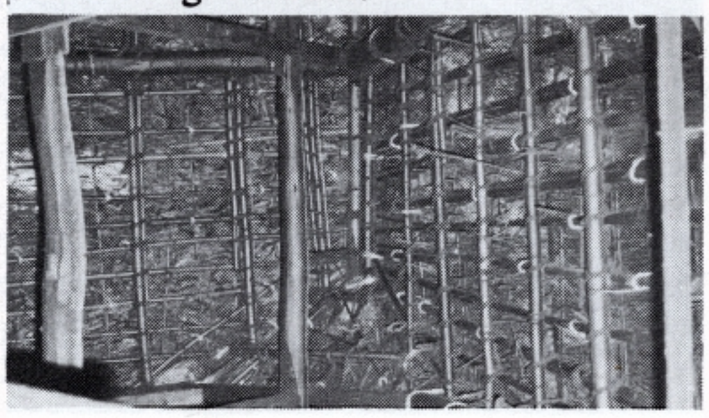
In this area, where modern mansions and a few elegant apartment houses compete with one another in gorgeousness, there stands an old-fashioned house which is in great contrast to the others. This house, which is built in farm house style with a straw-thatched roof, is owned by Mr. Hiromi Kosugi, 51, a public official.

Such a house with straw-thatched roof is seldom seen in Tōkyō any more. This house was built by Mr. Kosugi's farmer grandfather in 1903. As soon as one enters the house through its old-fashioned sliding lattice door the perspiration vanishes and one feels cool. Power and gas company collectors are quite aware of this, so that on hot days when they are out collecting money in the Kakinokizaka area they rest in his house for a while to revive.

Although the Kosugi family has an electric fan it is not used except on exceptionally hot days, for the roof is thatched with straw and this kind of roof keeps the heat out to a great extent.

The interior of this house is dark even during the daytime but it is comparatively cool in sunmer.

The inside of the roof at Mr. Kosugi's house.



Even the Kosugi family, however, has some troubles. One trouble is that straw is seldom available and that the artisans who thatch such a roof are few these days. It is said that a straw roof must be replaced about every forty years. Mr Kosugi had the roof thatched in 1955, so that he need not have to have it done again for another twenty years; Still, he is a little puzzled, wondering if any artisan will be alive and well enough to do the work and if straw will still be available in twenty years.

Mr. Kosugi has another trouble —very serious trouble indeed: he has two lovely daughters who keep badgering him saying: "Can you imagine a house with a straw roof in the middle of Tōkyō? We feel so embarrassed! Build a new house, please!" 東

"Pictures on Dōtaku Tell a Hidden Story"

by Yonekura Isamu

A dotaku excavated at Tokushima Prefecture. Mr. Oba theorizes that people hostile towards the Soga clan damaged every division where pictorial symbols must have been to demonstrate the authority of the clan.

Until now, scholars have believed that neither letters nor characters existed in Japan before the introduction of Chinese characters in the 6th century.

Not long ago an interesting new theory was advanced by Mr. Ōba Hiromichi, a 58-year-old historian who specializes in studies of Egypt and Mesopotamia. According to his theory, Japanese original pictorial symbols existed even before the introduction of Chinese characters. He bases his theory on the clues given to him by the pictures that are depicted on dōtaku, *bronze bells of ancient Japan. (An article on* dōtaku *was introduced in the last issue of The East.) These pictures have been thought to be simply decorative. From long experience in the study of hieroglyphs and pictographs, however, Mr. Ōba intuitively judged them to be pictorial symbols. For ten years he has been devoting his time and talents to the task of deciphering them. As a result he has reached the conclusion that beyond any doubt the pictures on* dōtaku *are pictorial symbols. His book on the subject, "Dōtaku no Nazo" ("The Unsolved Questions of Dōtaku"),*

MR. OBA HIROMICHI

(Photographed by Suhara Masachika)

published by Kōbun-sha, Tōkyō, tells in detail the results of his study.

Despite the fact that this book has attained popularity and so has been read by a great many people, not one specialist on this subject has yet expressed either approval or disapproval of Mr. Ōba's theory. Although many historians acknowledge that the pictures on dōtaku *could be original Japanese symbols, they doubt the two conclusions that Mr. Ōba has drawn from his decipherment. One conclusion is that* dōtaku *were used until the middle of the 7th century. (According to the established theory,* dōtaku *went out of use at the end of the 3rd century). The second conclusion is directly related to some historical events. Although we are of the opinion that Mr. Ōba's theory should be examined more closely, the book is so interesting that we would like to introduce it.*

Discovery of Original Pictures on Dōtaku

MR. OBA is convinced that the pictures on *dōtaku* are Japanese original characters and is enthusiastic for having discovered them. The established theory that no original characters existed in Japan is based partially on a record in "Zuisho-wakokuden", a Chinese history compiled in the 7th century, which contains the following information about Japan from the 5th to the 7th century: "(There are) no characters (in Japan). (The Japanese) merely carve on wood and make (designs of) straw ropes. (They) revere Buddhism. (They) acquire Buddhist sutras in Kudara (Korea). (Then) for the first time characters exist in Japan."

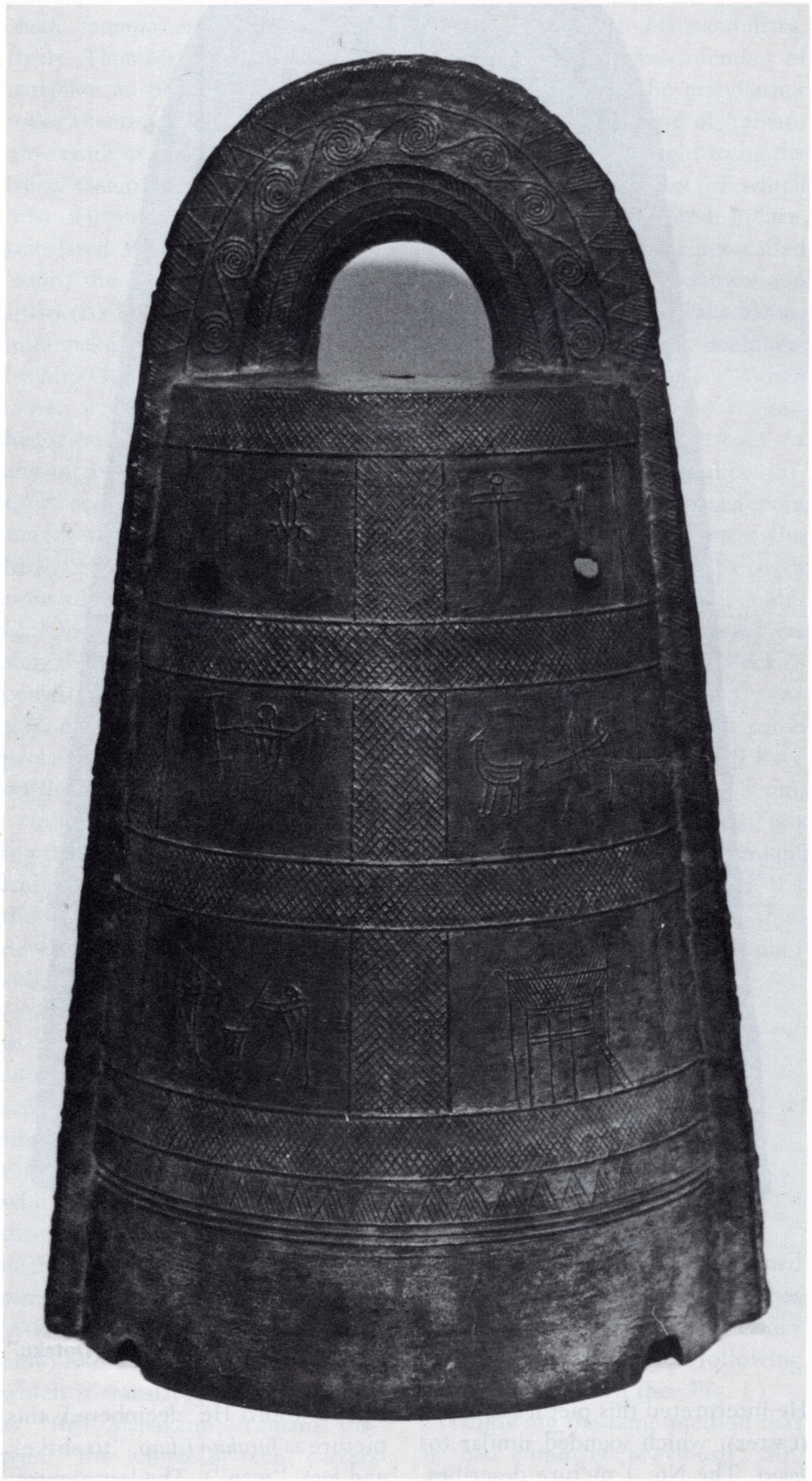
According to the theory advanced by Mr. Ōba, the sentence "(There are) no characters (in Japan)" was written from the viewpoint of the Chinese of that time who already were using very highly-developed pictorial symbols as characters. In other words, what Mr. Ōba calls pictorial symbols looked to the Chinese simply like pictures. Mr. Ōba continues reasoning that the words "merely carve on wood" indicate that the Japanese of that time carved pictorial symbols on wood. Other scholars considered these words to be proof of the fact that no original characters existed in Japan. Mr. Ōba takes the opposite stand, considering these same words to be proof of his theory that Japan had its own pictorial symbols.

A principal of a high school until ten years ago, Mr. Ōba had been putting all of his efforts into deciphering mural paintings of ancient tombs and pictorial figures depicted on old talismans of shrines. Despite his efforts, however, he was unable to get any satisfactory results until one day ten years ago when he happened to examine a photo of a famous *dōtaku* with pictures on it. This particular *dōtaku*, which is designated as a national treasure of Japan, is called "Ōhashi Dōtaku" after the name of its possessor. It has twelve divisions with pictures of animals, people, granaries etc. depicted on each division. Because of Mr. Ōba's familiarity with hieroglyphs and pictographs, the arrangement of these pictures suggested to him that they must be pictorial symbols. So in effect these pictures offered a challenge to him to decipher the actual pictures on the *dōtaku* itself. The pictures on the Ōhashi Dōtaku are shown in Photograph No. 1.

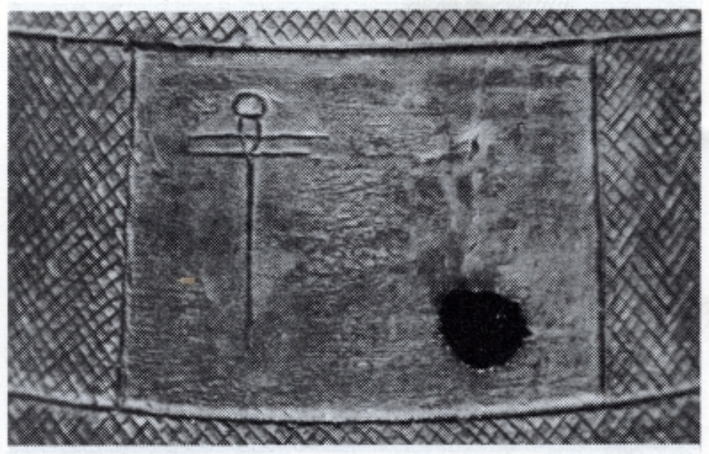
Day after day Mr. Ōba gazed at the pictures deep in thought until the theory occurred to him that each division might contain one word only. He applied this theory to the *dōtaku* by substituting every picture with the ancient Japanese word correspondent to it, but he still was unable to decipher the meaning and thus could not prove his theory. Some time later he made another attempt by following the precedent set by the famous Egyptologist Champollion, who had deciphered the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone. The method that Champollion had employed was to first find the hieroglyph which was correspondent to the word "king." Mr. Ōba kept Champollion's method in mind and extended himself to make even further efforts. Suddenly he noticed that the No. 3 picture could be read *takakura* (granary with an elevated floor), which sounds similar to the word *takamikura* meaning "Emperor." Furthermore, after consulting a dictionary of ancient words, he found that the word *takakura* itself also meant "Emperor." Elated at this discovery, he became more convinced than ever that these pictures must be pictorial symbols.

Upon re-examination of the pictures he noted that the No. 1 picture of one side shows a dragonfly (*akitsu* in ancient Japanese). Akitsu is also the name given to the Yamato district in ancient times; it sometimes indicated all of Japan. The No. 2 picture shows a man hunting a deer. He deciphered this picture as *iruka* (*iru*, "to hunt" and *ka*, "deer"). When he fully realized

this he was astounded, for *Iruka* was the last successor of the Soga clan which had wielded its influence in Akitsu (Yamato district) in the period between the 6th and the middle of the 7th century. He continued his deciphering: the No. 4 picture shows a newt (*imori*).

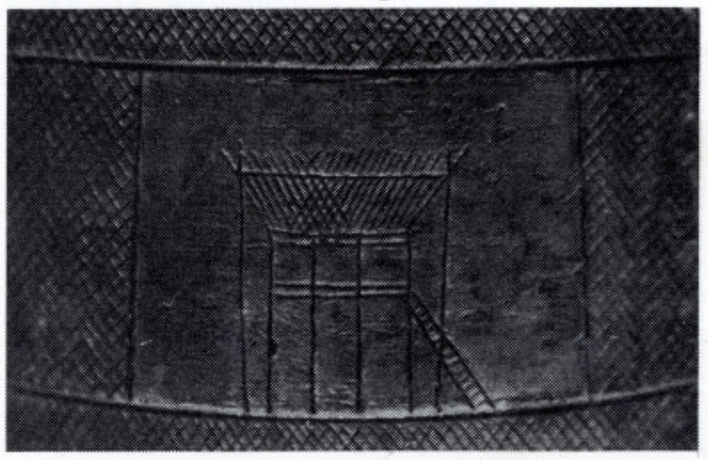


Side No.1 of "Ohashi Dotaku" which gave Mr. Oba a clue for deciphering.

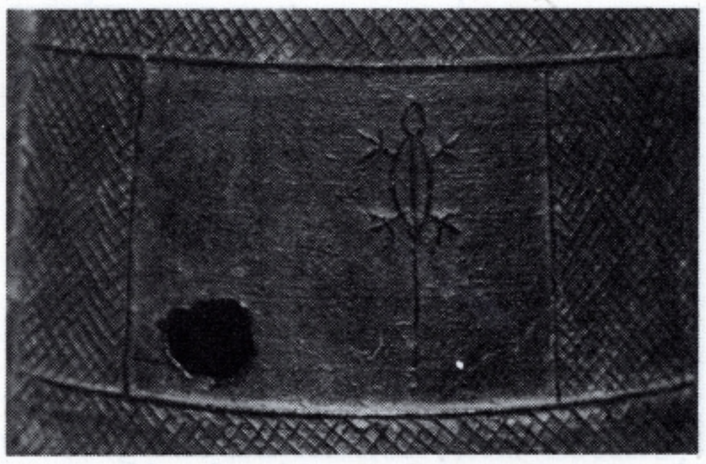


No. 1 Dragonfly

No. 2 Man hunting a deer



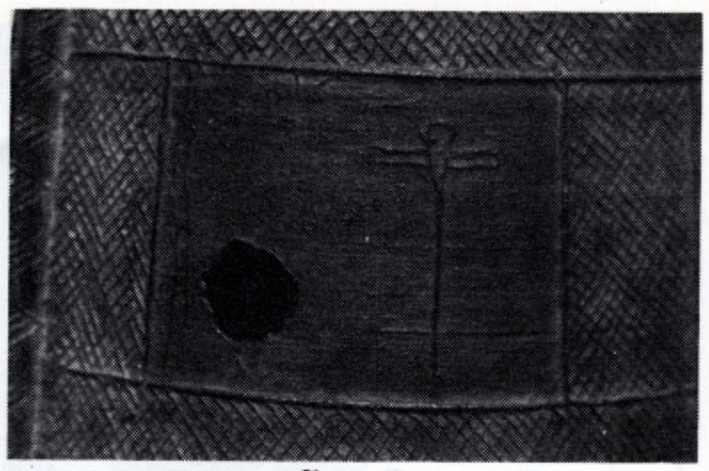
No. 3 Granary with an elevated floor



No. 4 Newt

No. 5 Man shaking a tool

No. 6 Man pounding with a pestle



No. 1 Dragonfly

No. 2 Tortoise with a fish in its mouth

No. 3 Newt and tortoise

No. 4 Praying mantis and spider

No. 5 Two birds holding a fish

No. 6 Hunter and his dogs

Side No.2 of "Ohashi Dotaku".

He interpreted this picture as *imoji* (caster), which sounded similar to *imori*. The No. 5 picture describes a man shaking something that looks like a tool. He deciphered this picture as *furuhito* (*furo*, "to shake" and *hito*, "man"). The last picture, No. 6, shows two men pounding

with a pestle. He read this symbol as *kizuku,* "to make" (*ki*, "pestle" and *zuku*, "to pound."). To sum up, these six pictures are deciphered as *akitsu, iraku, takakura, imoji, furuhito and kizuku* respectively. Then Mr. Oba added as few particles as possible in order to make a sentence. His decipherment now reads as follows: "Akitsu (ni) Iruka takamikura (no toki) imoji (no) Furuhito kizuku", which, translated word for word, reads: "(On) the Yamato district (when) Iruka (is) Emperor, a caster Furuhito makes." Furuhito is believed by Mr. Ōba to be the name of the caster who made this *dōtaku*. No histories, however, mention that any member of the Soga clan had ever acceded to the throne as Emperor, even though this clan had held the behind-the-scenes reins of government at that time. Mr Ōba, realizing that the conclusion that he had reached was not consistent with historical fact, left this question unsolved while he proceeded to decipher the pictures on the other side of the *dōtaku*.

In the slow process of deciphering the pictures on the first side he had groped in the dark and puzzled the problems involved until he developed the following three rules which he used as a guideline: (1) one division has one word only in principle. (2) a picture of an animal or an object represents a separate word with the same or a similar pronounciation. (3) a picture of a man represents a word which is related to the action of the man. Applying these rules to decipher the second side of the *dōtaku* he interpreted as follows: "Akitsu Manakami (no) imoji no ohito Kamo (no) Tsunutari tasuku" which is translated word for word as "(In) Manakami, Yamato district, the chief of the casters (named) Tsunutari (in) Kamo helps." Mr. Ōba thinks that Manakami is Manakamihara where the Soga clan lived, for the following record in "Nihonshoki" (Chronicles of Japan) tells us: "(Umako) builds Hōkō Temple in this area which is named Manakamihara, Asuka." Umako was a member of the Soga clan and the grandfather of Iruka. Asuka is part of Yamato district. Kamo is thought to be the area of Yamato district in which Manakamihara was located. In fact, in Asuka there are shrines called Kami-kamo and Kamo-tsuwa and also an area called Taka-kamo. Summing up Mr. Ōba's decipherment, the pictures read: "When Iruka ascends the throne as Emperor in the Yamato district, a caster named Furuhito makes (this dōtaku). The chief of the casters in Manakami, Yamato district, (who is) Tsunutari of Kamo, helps (with the casting of this *dōtaku*)." Mr. Ōba believes that this *dōtaku* was cast in commemoration of Iruka's ascension to the throne.

If this theory is accepted, some parts of Japanese history will have to be rewritten. To decipher one *dōtaku* only, of course, is not enough to prove a theory: it might be a mere accident to read the pictures this way. Aware of this, Mr. Ōba preceeded to decipher other *dōtaku*.

The Decipherment of Another Two Dōtaku

The second *dōtaku*, named "Fukui Ōishi Dōtaku No. 2," has eight divisions (four each on either side) on which the following pictures are shown (See Fig. I).

Following the same method that he had employed previously, Mr. Ōba deciphered picture No. 1 as *umako* (a foal). This discovery excited him as much as though he had struck a gold mine, because "Umako" was the name of the first important member of the powerful Soga clan in the late 6th century. Moreover, Umako was the grandfather of Iruka.

Picture No. 2 shows *kamakiri* (praying mantis). Its abbreviation is *kama* and its corruption *kamo*. As was mentioned before, "Kamo" is the area including Manakamihara where the Soga clan had resided and established its influence.

Picture No. 3 shows a tortoise with a fish in its mouth. In ancient Japanese, fish is *mana* and tortoise is *kamé*. Because *kami* is the corruption of *kamé*, Mr. Ōba deciphered this picture as *manakami*.

Picture No. 4 is *takakura* (granary with an elevated floor).

Thus the four pictures read: "Umako Kamo (no) Manakami (ni) Takakura (no toki)." Mr. Ōba now deciphered the four pictures on the other side and interpreted them to be "Akitsu Kawachi (no) Tori Imuka (ni) Kizuku." All together these pictures mean:

"(When) Umako (is) Emperor (in) Manakami, Kamo, Tori (in) Kawachi, Akitsu makes (this dōtaku) in Imuka."

Kawachi is Ōsaka Prefecture of today and Imuka is located in the village of Ōishi where this *dōtaku* was excavated. It is interesting to note that Picture No. 3 of the second side is deciphered "Imuka" because it shows a sitting deer (*imu*, "to sit" and *ka*, "deer"). The fact that the pronounciation of Picture No. 3 is the same as the name of the village indicates the accuracy of Mr. Ōba's method of decipherment. As for the word "Tori," it should be noted that a sculptor of Buddhist images named Tori was invited by Umako from Koguryo, Korea.

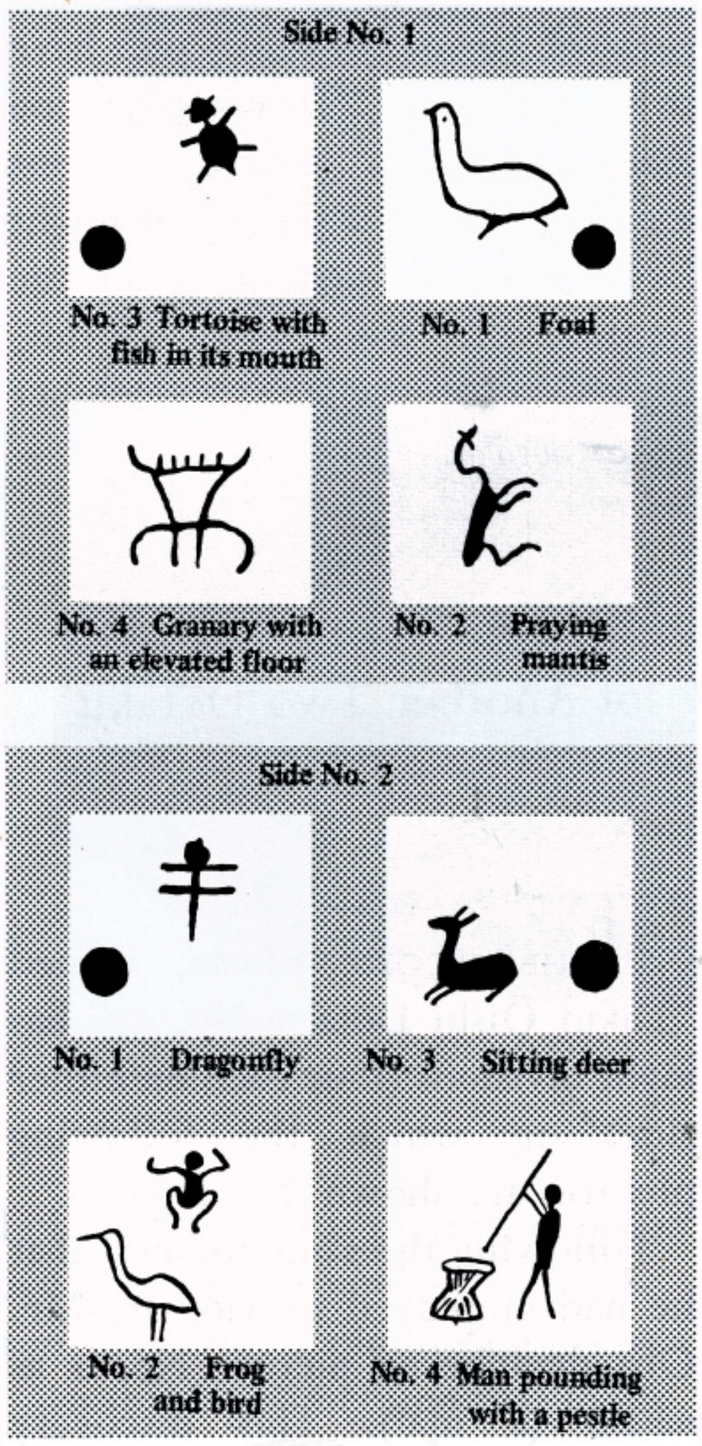
Mr. Ōba was confident of the accuracy of his work after reading the second *dōtaku*. When he noticed a potential close relationship between *dōtaku* and the Soga clan, he began to seek a *dōtaku* showing a picture which represented Emishi, the son of Umako. The influential Soga clan was at the peak of its prosperity during the three generations of rule by Umako, Emishi and Iruka. Mr. Ōba thought that finding a *dōtaku* in which Emishi was mentioned would not only prove the accuracy of his decipherment but would also bring to light the connection between *dōtaku* and the Soga clan. He guessed that Emishi would have been represented by a crayfish (*emishi* in ancient Japanese). The *dōtaku* that he finally found after his search, called "Fukui Ōishi Dōtaku No. 1," was excavated at the same village as "Fukui Ōishi Dōtaku No. 2." The No. 1 Dōtaku has no divisions but has a design of flowing water. There are three rows of pictures which are drawn with uncertain childish strokes. Unfortunately, some of these strokes are imperfect or perhaps were damaged with time, so that this *dōtaku* was very difficult for Mr. Ōba to decipher. The sketch of this *dōtaku* is shown in Fig. II.

Mr. Ōba interpreted the picture marked ※ in the upper row as a crayfish, although this interpretation seems to be a bit far-fetched. Compared with the other two *dōtaku*, this one is not persuasive in other respects also. This is due to the particular strokes that were used to draw the pictures as well as to Mr. Ōba's bold decipherment. He read these pictures as follows: "When Emishi in Manakami ascends the throne as Emperor, a caster in Mikawa makes (this *dōtaku*). Thus, according to his decipherment, three members of the Soga clan ascended the throne as Emperor.

Challenge to Some Established Theories

Approval of the results of his decipherment would mean that Japanese pictorial symbols were in use at least until the early 7th century, some one hundred years after Chinese characters had been introduced. Mr. Ōba explains this as follows: "Chinese characters were used only by a limited number of the educated noblemen of that time. In order for ordinary people, who were unable to read Chinese characters, to recognize the authority of the Soga clan, pictorial symbols were intentionally used because the people were familiar with them."

Fig. I. The sketch of Fukui Oishi Dotaku No. 2


Side No. 1
No. 3 Tortoise with fish in its mouth
No. 1 Foal
No. 4 Granary with an elevated floor
No. 2 Praying mantis
Side No. 2
No. 1 Dragonfly
No. 3 Sitting deer
No. 2 Frog and bird
No. 4 Man pounding with a pestle

Even if his explanation about the usage of the pictorial symbols is accepted, Mr. Ōba's theory is confronted with another big problem. According to the established theory, *dōtaku* went out of use at the end of the 3rd century. But if Mr. Ōba's decipherment proves to be true, it means that *dōtaku* were used until the middle of the 7th century when the Soga clan perished. This great disparity of some three hundred and fifty years is the problem which has to be solved.

The established theory that *dōtaku* were in use during the Yayoi Period (3rd century B.C.–3rd century A.D.) and went out of use at the end of the 3rd century is based on the following reasoning:

1) The pictorial designs on *dōtaku* are similar to those on Yayoi earthenware.
2) In one case at least, a *dōtaku* was excavated together with two bronze swords of the Yayoi Period.
3) There were two separate discoveries of *dōtaku* in the ruins of the Yayoi Period, and five more in which they were excavated with Yayoi earthenware.
4) One miniature earthenware *dōtaku* was discovered with the Yayoi earthenware.

Mr. Ōba argues against the established theory by stating that "As for 1), the pictorial designs on *dōtaku* and those on the Yayoi earthenware look alike at first sight, but the *dōtaku* designs are less primitive in most cases. Although *dōtaku* were in use in the Yayoi Period is definitely proved by 2), 3), and 4), these cannot be the grounds to prove that they were not in use after that time. Furthermore, some *dōtaku* were excavated with *sueki* or *hajiki* (unglazed pottery which was produced from the time of the Old Tomb Period (4th century to the middle of the 6th) to the Heian Period (794–1191)."

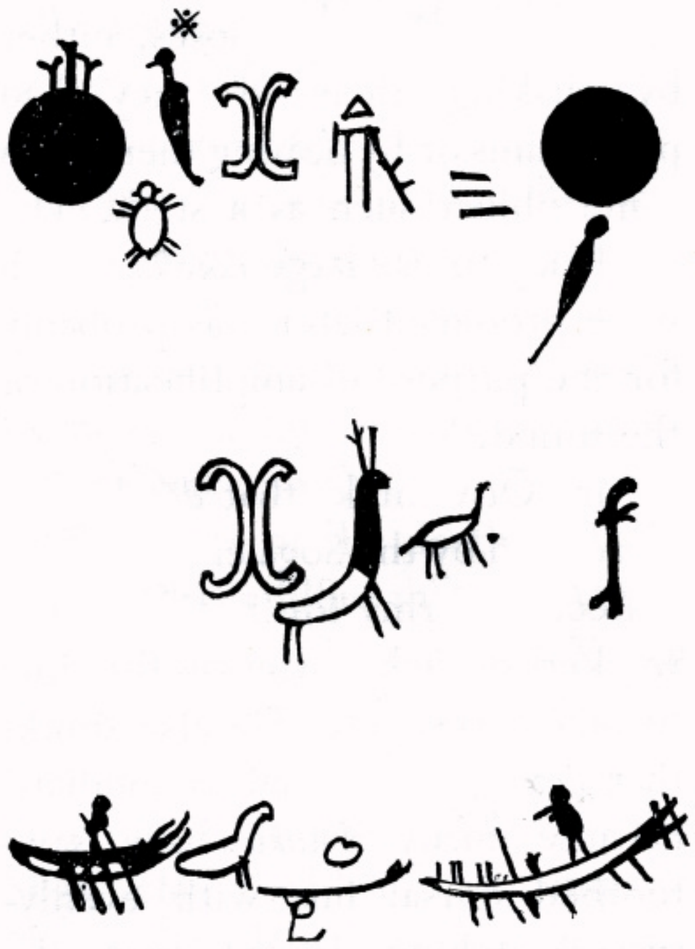
Mr. Ōba presents circumstantial evidence to indicate that *dōtaku* were used even after the Old Tomb Period: "Fourteen *dōtaku* were excavated at Ōiwayama in Yasu, Shiga Prefecture, in 1881 and ten in 1962." [This was introduced in the column "History" in the last issue of The East] "The total weight of these twenty-four *dōtaku* is nearly 300 kg. (660 lb.). Strange to say, however, no ruins of the Yayoi Period have been discovered in Yasu or its vicinity despite the fact that a number of *dōtaku* were excavated there. Moreover, in the Old Tomb Period which followed the Yayoi Period some powerful clans resided in this area. It is difficult to believe that those clans did not excavate the *dōtaku*. It is more reasonable to assume that the *dōtaku* had been cast and later abandoned in or after the Old Tomb Period."

Mr. Ōba's statement does not prove definitely that *dōtaku* were still in use in the days of the Soga clan and therefore justify his theory. In order to prove the connection between the Soga clan and *dōtaku* he challenged the yet unsolved questions of the materials of which *dōtaku* were made.

The Relation between the Soga Clan and Dōtaku

THE MOST generally accepted theory concerning the material of *dōtaku* is that they must have been cast by melting Chinese bronze coins which were brought to Japan after they fell out of use in China, and bronze swords and halberds imported from China and Korea. Mr. Ōba challenges this theory as follows: "If *dōtaku* were cast by melting and using these bronze products, the site where the swords, halberds or coins were stored would have been discovered but it has not. And also it is more reasonable to suppose that bronze swords and halberds would have been excavated at the area where *dōtaku* were distributed. However, the area in which both *dōtaku* and bronze swords and halberds were excavated is small". (See map in the last issue of The East). "Of those swords and halberds which

Fig. II. The sketch of Fukui Oishi Dotaku No. 1



were discovered in this area, not one showed any trace of casting. As for bronze coins, several discoveries have been reported but in every case only one coin was excavated. Nor has any storage site been discovered. Therefore I cannot uphold the theory which insists that *dōtaku* were cast by melting other bronze products."

Mr. Ōba criticizes: "The most generally accepted theory was advanced on the premise that *dōtaku* were cast during the Yayoi Period when the Japanese people had not yet discovered the technique for producing bronze from crude ore." He goes on to state his views on the amount of bronze which would have been necessary to use in order to cast *dōtaku*: "If *dōtaku* had been cast by melting bronze swords, more than three thousand would have been needed in order to make three hundred and fifty *dōtaku*, or about the number which have been excavated until now. It is nearly impossible to believe that this great number of bronze swords could have been collected during the late Yayoi Period because they are thought to have been used not as arms but kept as treasures and objects of worship. In other words, these treasures could only have been collected and owned by a very influential power such as the Soga clan."

In the late 6th century the Soga clan already had connections with the Imperial Court through the marriages of the daughters of Inamé, the father of Umako, to members of the Imperial family. Thus the Soga clan played a very important role in the Court in the days of Inamé. It was, in fact, at the time of Umako that the Soga clan became the most influential power in the land and held the actual reins of government: in 587 Umako of the Soga clan had conquered his rival clan, the Mononobé, and not long after, in 592, succeeded in assassinating Emperor Sushun who was hostile to him. Furthermore, during the reign of Empress Suiko, Umako often exceeded his authority on some pretext or other and thereby attained the reins of government even though he was in a position in which he should have rendered assistance to the regent Shōtoku Taishi. (See Vol. IX, No. 7 of The East). Umako must have been a tyrant, for it is recorded in the history "Nihon-shoki (Chronicles of Japan): "I (Empress Suiko) am of the Soga clan. (Suiko's mother was Umako's elder sister). Therefore I do not, if at all possible, object to anything said by the Ōomi." (the title Ōomi was given

to the highest administrative position under the Emperor, in this case referring to Umako). After the Soga clan which revered Buddhism destroyed the Mononobé, the most influential power among the clans which advocated the expulsion of Buddhism, Umako took measures to promote the prosperity of the Buddhists in cooperation with Shōtoku Taishi. He employed artisans from Paikché, Korea, to begin construction of the first complete temple compound in Japan at Manakamihara in Asuka, his own territory. This temple was named Hōkō-ji and popularly called Asuka Temple. Thus Buddhism spread and flourished from its center in Asuka. As circumstantial evidence to prove the relation between the Soga clan and *dōtaku*, Mr. Ōba points out that the temples which the Soga clan must have built in the Kinki district are inside the *dōtaku* distribution area. He also presents further circumstantial evidence by stating that the ancestors of the Soga came from Korea:

"The origin of *dōtaku* can be traced back to Korean *bataku*, bells which were hung on carriages. (See the last issue). The Soga clan introduced the Korean *bataku* into Japan and later developed them into *dōtaku* as symbols to demonstrate the clan's authority to the people." Mr. Ōba boldly offers to supply an answer to another unsolved question, i.e., for what purpose and how were the *dōtaku* used?

Mr. Ōba's Viewpoints on the Uses of Dōtaku

"ALMOST ALL of the *dōtaku* which were excavated together with the Yayoi earthenware are small ones. They were probably used by cavalry troops for some military purpose in war; perhaps they were rung as a signal to assemble the soldiers.

"It seems, however, that *dōtaku* began to be used for a different purpose in the 5th century, when large-scale public works for reclamation were begun. More than one thousand workers must have been engaged in such a huge-scale operation. In order to supervise the workers, it would have been necessary to signal the time to begin work, to take a rest, and to eat. *Dōtaku* must have been used as bells for these purposes, either by shaking them if they had pendulums or by beating them with some object such as a stick. The tendency to use large *dōtaku* which were produced later was probably for the purpose of amplification of the sound."

Mr. Ōba thinks that *dōtaku* also were used by the Soga clan on their collective farms for notifying the workers of such matters as the time to take a rest, etc. He also thinks that *dōtaku* were used as sundials, because many *dōtaku* have saw-toothed dorsal fins with evenly-spaced etching. In any case, the Soga clan must have used them not only in its own territory but also in the territories of other clans which were under its influence.

Mr. Ōba considers that when Soga no Umako gained the actual reins of government he must have had his artisans cast the particular *dōtaku* bearing the inscription which tells of his ascension to the throne as Emperor. According to his decipherment of the picture symbols on the other two *dōtaku* Emishi, son of Umako, and Iruka, son of Emishi, both ascended the throne as emperors as well. Then, did the "Soga dynasty" really exist? We would like to quote some excerpts from history books in order to examine this possibility more closely.

The Disappearance of Dōtaku and the Fall of the Soga Clan

As was mentioned in the last issue of The East, there is a historical record in which it is said that when a *dōtaku* was discovered in Shiga Prefecture in 667 no noblemen of the time recognized for what it had been used. This is quite strange, because this *dōtaku* was discovered only twenty-two years after the fall of the Soga clan. If *dōtaku* had been in use in the days of the Soga clan it is unbelievable that every nobleman forgot about them in such a short length of time. Mr. Ōba says that this can be attributed entirely to the tragedy of the Soga clan about which history tells us.

The fall of the Soga clan took place in the following way: Shōtoku Taishi died in 622 and Umako in 626. The reign of Empress Suiko came to an end with her death from illness in 628. Emishi, son of Umako, rose to his father's post as Ōomi after Umako's death. Following the death of Empress Suiko there was a fight for power between two opposing factions over the question of succession. One faction supported Prince Yamashiro no Ōé, the eldest son of Shōtoku Taishi, and the other supported Prince Tamura, cousin of Emishi. Shōtoku Taishi had been a man of great virtue who was held in high esteem. This fact caused his son Prince Yamashiro no Ōé to be a hindrance to the Soga clan, which sided with Prince Tamura. Under these circumstances Soga no Emishi made every effort to gain the support of other clans so that Prince Tamura might ascend the throne as Emperor. Emishi even went so far as to murder his uncle Sakaibé no

Marisé when he discovered that his uncle had recommended Prince Yamashiro no Ōé to be Emperor Finally Emishi succeeded in having Prince Tamura ascend the throne. Both Emishi and his son Iruka aided the new Emperor Jomei (Prince Tamura) and played big roles in the government. In this way the Soga clan gained even more influential power.

Thirteen years after his ascension to the throne Emperor Jomei died. Because his son Prince Naka no Ōé was still too young to govern, his wife, Empress Kōgyoku, took his place. Having every intention of abdicating the throne two years later, she gathered her aides around her to hold a conference over this matter.

Emishi, the Ōomi, pleading illness, did not attend the conference. Instead, at his mansion he placed the purple crown which was conferred to only Ōomi upon the head of his son Iruka. Thus Emishi promoted his son to this important post without the permission of the Empress. Knowing that to confer a title was her privilege and outside Emishi's authority, the Empress (who obviously did not wield enough administrative power to suppress Emishi's tyranny) nevertheless gave tacit approval to this act of insubordination.

Iruka, the new Ōomi, planned to recommend his cousin Prince Furuhito no Ōé as successor to the throne. However, Prince Yamashiro no Ōé was strongly supported by other influential clans and many noblemen. Iruka boldly dispatched his troops to raid the mansion of Prince Yamashiro no Ōé. Thus trapped, the Prince and his family were forced to kill themselves. From the fact that Empress Kōgyoku, even though reluctantly, approved this incident, we can imagine the tremendous influential power and authority that the Soga clan must have had. It is interesting to note that according to "Nihonshoki" (Chronicles of Japan) Emishi and his son Iruka referred to their mansion as "palace" and to their sons and daughters as "princes" and "princesses."

About this time at the Imperial Court a movement to overthrow the tyrannical Soga clan was instigated. A group with Nakatomi no Kamatari, a high-ranking official, and Prince Naka no Ōé, son of the Empress, as its leaders, (and with some members who supposedly were on the side of Iruka), secretly plotted a coup d'etat against the Soga clan.

In June 645 a ceremony was held at the Imperial Court to receive tributes from some countries on the Korean Peninsula. In the midst of the ceremony, Iruka was slain by Prince Naka no Ōé.

The news of the death of Iruka spread like wildfire through Asuka, the capital at that time. When Emishi, father of Iruka, was informed of the death of his son he committed suicide. And so the Soga clan, which had enjoyed almost limitless power for nearly one hundred years, was thus destroyed in one stroke by this coup d'etat and came to a sudden end.

Based on these historical facts, Mr. Ōba states the reasons that no noblemen of that period were able to identify or to know anything at all about the *dōtaku* which were excavated in 667 at Shiga Prefecture: "When the news of the fall of the Soga clan spread throughout the country, people must have gathered around *dōtaku*, which were scattered here and there, and buried them, for they had been the symbols of the dreaded Soga clan. Some *dōtaku* must have been intentionally damaged because of the people's hatred of the Soga clan, which had imposed so many years of tyrannical rule upon them. (It is interesting to note that one *dōtaku* was discovered damaged in every division where the pictorial symbols must have been.)

Thus *dōtaku* fell out of use immediately. Twenty-two years after the fall of the Soga clan a *dōtaku* was excavated at Shiga Prefecture. The noblemen of that time surely must have recognized it as the symbol of the Soga clan, their most hated enemy. Especially Prince Naka no Ōé and Nakatomi no Kamatari, the leaders of the coup d'etat, must have felt as though they had seen the departed ghost of the fallen Soga clan.

"In order to wipe the Soga clan, which had exercised its influence by practically usurping the power of the Imperial family, completely off the pages of history, the noblemen must have kept deliberate silence over the matter of the *dōtaku*."

Mr. Ōba also presents circumstantial evidence in order to prove the relationship between the coup d'etat (in other words, the fall of the Soga clan) and *dōtaku*: 1) *dōtaku* disappeared suddenly at a certain time. 2) There remain neither legends nor records about *dōtaku*, with only one exception. 3) Almost all *dōtaku* were excavated somewhere far away from any human habitation, which seems to indicate that they must have been hidden or abandoned.

* * *

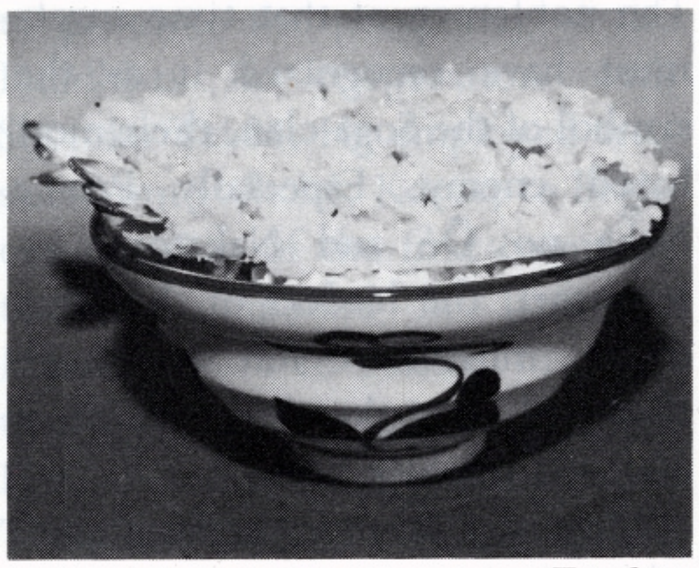
We cannot draw a hasty conclusion as to whether Mr. Ōba's theory, which is based solely on his decipherment of the pictorial symbols on *dōtaku*, is right or wrong. If his theory is right, however, Japanese history from the 6th to the 7th century will have to be completely rewritten, due entirely to his new and important historical finding: "the existence of the Soga dynasty."

東

Contribution

Popular Foods of Japan

by Mitchell F. Jones



Tendon.

Oyakodon.

Katsudon.

ANY VISITOR to Japan is both intrigued and fascinated by this land of Mt. Fuji and cherry blossoms. But almost at the same time he is frightened by the prospect of eating in Japan. Having heard stories of raw fish, pickled octopus and fried eel most visitors keep strictly to hotel restaurants or to those which advertise "foreign food" or *sukiyaki*, about the only Japanese food most westerners think palatable. Both of these practices are expensive and preclude a visitor from tasting the truly fine foods Japan has to offer.

A short walk in almost any neighborhood in Japan or even in many of the underground shopping arcades, readily available to most foreigners, is sure to find a visitor near an *inshoku-ten* (eating place). With a little patience and courage one can find a fine meal for very little money. For example *tonkatsu*, a meal of deep fried pork cutlets with a side dish of shredded cabbage and steamed rice and usually a bowl of soup (misoshiru) is about 300 yen or a little more than one dollar. Most of these restaurants serve green tea free of charge as a matter of course, but beer, cola and *saké*—and occasionally milk—are also available. Another dish, *tempura*, which is familiar to westerners, and *donburi*, *soba*, and *udon* are also available in similar prices, quantities and qualities. All it takes is the decision to move out a little from the close quarters of your Tōkyō hotel.

If the names above have placed a second scare into you, ignore it. These dishes are all palatable, in fact quite good, and with a little study and patience their names are quickly mastered. *Tempura* is shrimp and other fish, batter-dipped and deep-fried, although chicken and beef are also occasionally prepared this way. Both the batter and oil are seasoned and give them a fine flavor. A complete *tempura* dinner consists of several vegetables dipped and fried in the same batter and oil as the shrimp. There is also a clear soup served and a side dish of steamed rice. *Saké* and beer both are excellent accompaniments to this dish; but more on Japanese beer, *saké*, and wine later. When the *tempura* is served directly on the rice it is called *tendon* and the batter-fried vegetables are replaced by traditional pickled vegetables. The pickled vegetables taste a little different from those that the average westerner is used to but by no means should they be ignored. This is particularly true if one enjoys the taste of the pickled relishes that decorate German or Pennsylvania Dutch cooking. There are some similarities. The most common vegetable one might receive is *daikon*, a very large radish-like plant, which is pickled in a brine and soy sauce.

Donburi is the general name for a variety of dishes served over rice. *Tempura* over rice or *tendon* is a type of *donburi*. The word *donburi* really refers to the deep porcelain bowl in which the dish is served. There are several types of *donburi* that are very popular. *Katsudon* (in a name of a dish the *donburi* title is shortened to *don*) or pork cutlet over rice is my personal favorite and one which is served in my home often. *Oyakodon* is a chicken fillet *donburi*. The name literally means *family don* because the dish is prepared with both egg and chicken, so the entire chicken family is together. *Itokodon* is the same recipe made with beef. All of

these are very good and I have found few who once persuaded to try them did not enjoy them very much.

Soba is a noodle dish. The noodles and other ingredients are fried in a *wok* (Chinese cooking pot) or on a table grill in a way similar to the way in which *sukiyaki* is prepared. Again there are many different kinds of *soba* each named differently depending upon if pork, chicken, or beef is used. The main features of the *soba* are the noodles and the sauce used to make it. The noodles are made from buckwheat flour and its production rivals that of the pizza chef who throws the pizza dough into the air and twirls it to make it round and flat. In this case the noodle maker rolls a thick tube of dough which he picks up in both hands and pulls at both ends, twirling it in the same way as two children using a jump rope, until the dough elongates and becomes thinner. He then doubles the dough cord in half and repeats the procedure keeping the two cords separate. He continues this doubling procedure until he has literally dozens of thin noodles. A very good noodle maker can keep a crowd fascinated a very long time just watching him. The sauce has a flavour of ginger mixed with curry. A few slices of raw ginger are usually served on top of the *soba*. Some of the types of *soba* are *gyūniku soba*, beef *soba*; *tori soba*, chicken *soba*; and *yasai soba*, vegetable *soba*. Again all are very tasty and well worth ordering.

Udon is also a noodle dish. The noodles are similar to *soba* noodles but tend to be thicker and more like the egg noodles familiar to Western cooking. (Both Western noodles and Japanese noodles came from China. The West originally got them from Marco Polo and Japan from her long period of contact with China.) The major difference between *udon* and *soba* is that the *udon* is served in a deep china bowl and the noodles are boiled and make an almost soup-like dish. Again the term *udon* is a generic name which is modified by the type of ingredients it has. *Tsukimi udon* or full moon *udon* is served with a raw egg face-up giving the appearance of the moon.

Wax-made replicas of food are shown in the window of a department store restaurant.

Popularly-priced food is sold at a department store restaurant.

The heat of the dish will cook the white of the egg and, before eating, the yolk is mixed into the *udon* and is also cooked. *Kamonamban* is made with pieces of thinly sliced duck. There is also *udon* made with curry, beef and chicken.

If while reading this you are thinking, "well, that is all very well to say, but I don't speak Japanese, so how am I going to get any of this?" don't be dismayed. First of all, if you can memorize any of the above names most of the waiters in the restaurants will understand you. If that fails, speak English: it is surprising how many people in Tokyo speak some English and a person can often communicate that way. But there is one saving grace. Japanese restaurants have in their front windows wax replicas of the food they serve and its price. Often the names of the dish are printed in the *romaji*, or English alphabet form and if all else fails you can always take the proprietor outside and point to what you want. And believe me this often happens even if you speak some Japanese.

Concerning beverages for your Japanese meal, as I said above green tea is served as a matter of course and goes well with all of these foods. *Saké* is also a very welcome companion to Japanese food. *Saké* is usually served warm and has a flavor similar to an young sauterne, it is somewhat sweet and is a fine balance to Japanese food. There are many brands available and the quality of all, or at least all I have tried, is very good. Beer is also very good and available everywhere. I have been told that in recent years beer sales have topped *saké* sales in Japan. Domestic Japanese wine of the European type is not usually available in the Japanese style restaurants and the same is true of imported European wine. But in this instance this is of no real loss because this type of wine is not well suited to Japanese food. Japanese whiskey is usually Scotch in character. It too is very good and its smoky flavor blends rather well with Japanese food. And of course if you want it you can always buy Coca Cola, but here it is pronounced "kōra."

These are just a few Japanese foods. There are many more to be found if one only tries. I hope this can serve to get the visitor to order the food that is more typical of Japan and, who knows? perhaps even try to prepare them after returning home. 東

"Musashino Mini", a Mini—Kiln for Making Your Own Ceramics

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Two philosophies of the steak.

The basic philosophy of the American restaurant.

The chef throws a slab of raw steak into the kitchen broiler.

It sits there until it's rare, medium or well-done.

The waiter brings it to your table.

You eat it.

The Benihana philosophy.

The chef comes right up to your hibachi table. (Why shouldn't you see the man who's actually creating your meal?)

He bows. (There's no reason why a chef can't be a gentleman.)

He sets the raw steak in front of you. (Isn't it nice to see for yourself that you're getting the very freshest, prime cuts?)

He asks you how you want it. (There's no luxury like the luxury of dealing directly with your chef.)

He cuts your steak into bite-size morsels. (Why should you have to perform any labor?)

His knife begins a snappy, rhythmic attack on the onions. (We believe there's as much drama in a dancing onion as in a dancing chorus girl.)

He slams the pepper shaker against the grill. (It's not good for a chef to suppress his excitement.)

As he cooks he adds all kinds of Japanese sauces and seasonings. (No, Worcester sauce is not part of our theory.)

At last he puts the sizzling steak directly on your plate. (The world's fastest waiter couldn't serve you better.)

You eat it. (Tell us. Has there ever been a more palatable philosophy?)

BENIHANA of TOKYO

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Folk Tale

Hagoromo----The Celestial Robe of a Nymph

Once upon a time there was a clear and beautiful lake which reflected the blue of the sky and the green of the surrounding mountains.

Near this lake there lived a young fisherman. The fish that he caught he sold at the foot of the mountain. One day he was lying on his back taking a rest in the pine woods near the lake when there came into his vision a row of something that seemed to be white objects descending from the sky. "I wonder what that is! Could it be white clouds?" When the objects came nearer to earth he realized that it was a line of seven white cranes.

As soon as the cranes reached earth they alit on a pine tree and lo and behold! they were immediately transformed into seven beautiful maidens! The young fisherman gazed at them entranced as they removed their robes, tripped lightly into the waters of the lake and began to swim. Transfixed by the lovely sight, the young fisherman murmured: "How strange! How strange!" And little by little he began to creep silently through the pine trees towards the lake. The seven maidens with skin as white as snow and hair as black as ebony looked very pretty in the limpid water.

Suddenly the young fisherman detected a strange, lovely fragrance. Curious, he traced its source to the very pine tree on which the maidens had hung their robes, and then he was filled with wonder and awe: "These robes belong to celestial nymphs! Why have they come down to earth disguised as cranes?"

Now he was eager to go down to the village so that he could boast to the people about seeing the nymphs. But he knew that the villagers would not believe his story unless he could offer them some proof. "If I show them a robe of the nymphs they will surely believe me!" So he hid behind the tree, climbed it, retrieved one robe and quickly descended. Peeping around the tree, he saw that the nymphs had come ashore and were now lying on the beach basking in the sun. The young fisherman crept into the bushes and hid, waiting. After a little while the nymphs ran lightly back to the tree on which they had hung their robes. Six of them dressed and like a flash were changed into cranes again. The seventh nymph was very puzzled and at a loss as to what to do because she could not find her robe. "Where is my robe? Where could it be?"

Now the young fisherman arose from his hiding place in the bushes and greeted her thus: "Welcome, pretty maiden!" The six cranes were so astonished to hear a human voice that they immediately took wing and flew back into the sky. The nymph who was left behind was also astonished. She hurriedly hid herself in the bushes and demanded of the young fisherman: "You have my robe! Please, please give it back to me at once!"

"I am sorry," answered the young fisherman, "but I do not want to give it back to you. This must be a *hagoromo* (celestial robe), isn't it? Will you please leave this rare treasure in this world of human beings?"

"No, no!" cried the nymph, "you must return it to me, or I cannot go back to Heaven! Please, please give it back to me!" Sobbing, she supplicated the young fisherman with her hands together as if in prayer. But the young fisherman wanted so desperately to show the celestial robe to the villagers that he paid no attention to her and started to leave.

The celestial nymph covered herself with her long hair and ran after him. Finally he turned round and said kindly to her: "Here, you may have my clothes. Come to my house with me." And in this way they left the pine woods.

The young fisherman's mother was astounded when her son returned home accompanied by a beautiful young maiden who was wearing his clothes. So the son explained the circumstances to his mother, telling her the story of the nymph and of her robe as well. The mother, impressed by the story and by the exquisite beauty of the nymph, extended her arms to the girl and said gently: "Welcome to our home, pretty nymph. For a long time I have been searching for a bride for my son. As he desires to have the robe and as you cannot go back to Heaven without it, I beg of you to marry my son."

The nymph considered this and at last agreed to marry the young fisherman, because she saw that there was no hope of retrieving her robe. So they were married, and the nymph worked very hard for her husband, just as did the other wives of the other fishermen. The mother was very pleased and loved her son's wife deeply. The nymph took good care of her mother-in-law just as she did of her husband. And thus one year passed, and then two.

Now the spring of the third year had come. The white, yellow and red flowers were in full bloom all around the lake and the birds sang with sweet voices while they flitted from one tree to another. The mother said to the nymph: "What fine, peaceful weather! See, the flowers are in full bloom and everywhere the birds are singing. I suppose that there is no difference between the world of Heaven and this world."

"That is true, mother," the nymph replied, "I am sure that there is no difference, although I have nearly forgotten the world of Heaven."

"Do you ever think of your robe?" asked the mother.

The nymph answered thoughtfully: "No, I have completely forgotten about it. Nor do I ever dream of it."

"My son keeps it hidden," said the mother, "But it must be aired occasionally so that the insects do not eat it. It would be a terrible tragedy if the insects would eat it, would it not? My son also fears this."

"Although I no longer have need of the robe," said the nymph, "I agree that it would be good to air it occasionally."

The mother nodded. "It surely would be good." So she pulled out the drawer of a chest behind which there was a secret second drawer, and there was the robe folded quite neatly. The mother removed the robe and began to unfold it when suddenly it floated away from her, wafted by a breeze from the window. Now the room was filled with a lovely fragrance.

"Would you like to put the robe on just one more time?" But the nymph shook her head and replied firmly: "No, mother."

"Just put it lightly over your shoulders, then," urged the mother.

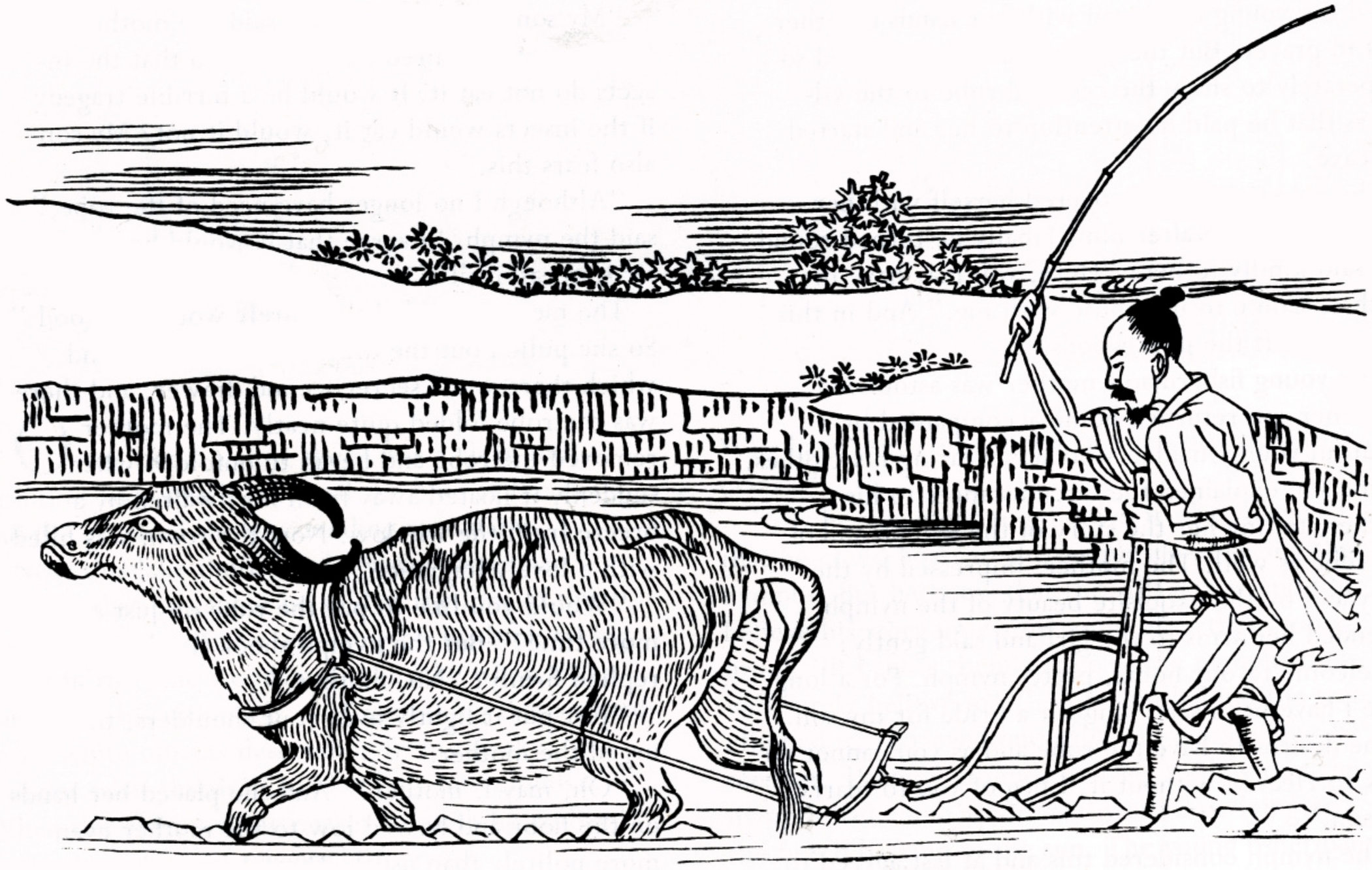
"Oh, may I, mother?" And she placed her hands on the floor and bowed low to the mother even more politely than usual. Then she put the robe gently upon her shoulders. In one instant she was transformed into a white crane again! The crane took wing and flew away through the window up, up into the sky.

The surprised mother ran from the house shouting: "Horrors! What have I done? What have I done? What happened?" But no matter how loudly she shouted, no one heard her and no one came. The only sound to be heard was the eerie echo of her own voice.

And the white crane swooped overhead three times, making three circles, now low, now high, and then flew far, far away into the sky.

The clear and beautiful lake reflected the blue of the sky and the green of the surrounding mountains as usual, just as though nothing at all had ever happened. 東

Songs of Ancient Chinese Farmers



Ploughing.
From "Kadokawa Kan-Wa Chu-jiten"

農業

In *Shih Ching*, the oldest Chinese anthology, which is a collection of three hundred eleven poems ranging from the 12th to the 6th century B.C., we read the following farming song composed by a lord to celebrate a rich harvest:

"*So far away the fields spread*
Every year the crops are good.
Our people are fed on the old
stored grain;
Since by-gone times how rich the
harvests have been!
The peasants on their way to the
southern fields are seen:
On their way to weed go some
peasants
Others will earth the young plants.
The fields are grown rich with
millet."

Most of the farming songs in *Shih Ching* were composed to celebrate good harvests. We can, however, easily imagine the unsaid words behind this poem—that the peasants must have been forced to labour very hard. The most diffi-

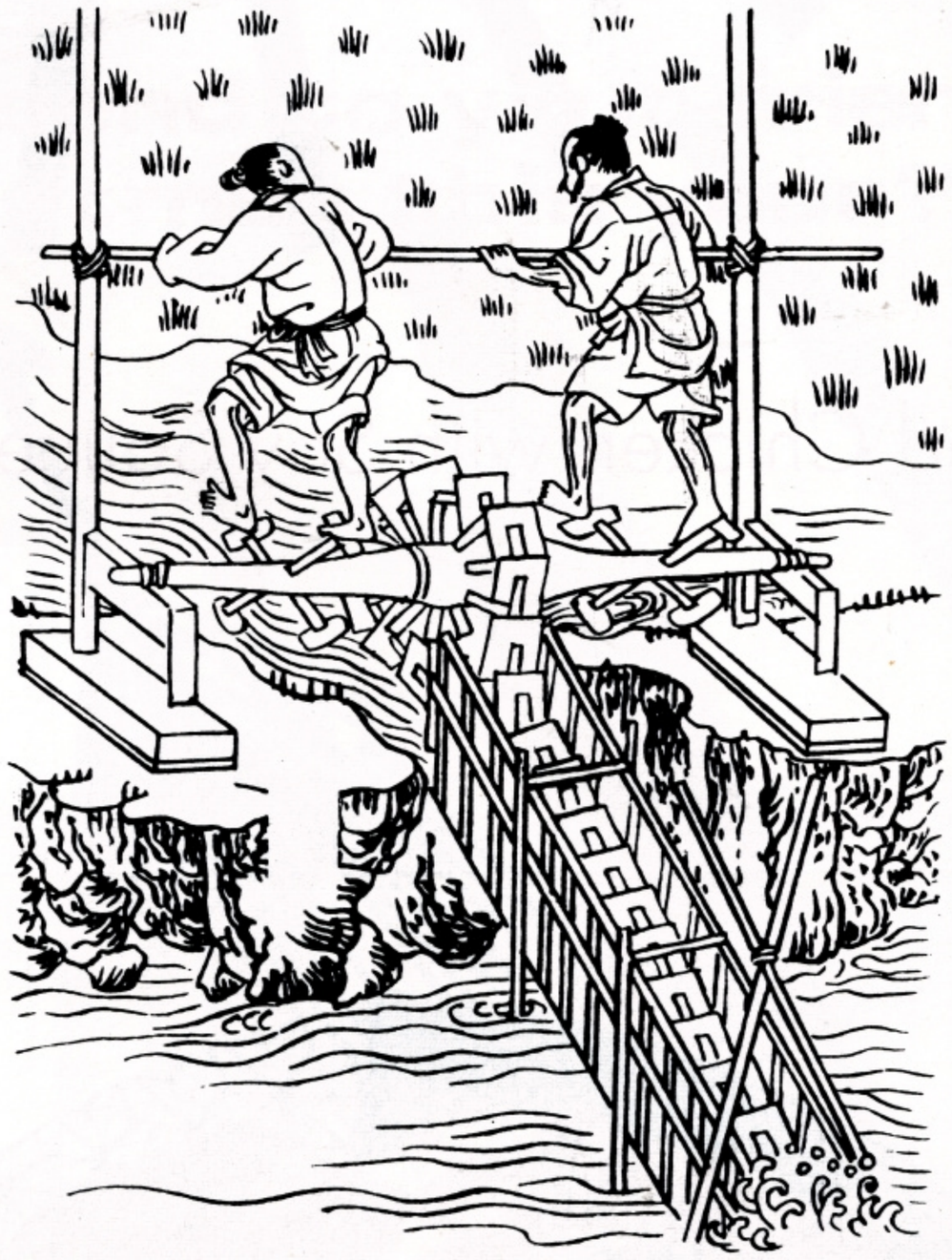
cult labour of all must have been weeding, for we read a poem in the same anthology:

"Do not wish to have even more fields
For it would be tragic to weed if we had!"

In by-gone days weeding must have occupied the greatest part of the peasants' work. We come to this conclusion from the meaning of the original forms of the Chinese character for "agriculture," which were and . The first character consisted of meaning a thicket and meaning a sickle, which was made by sharpening a large seashell to the proper shape. The second character was composed of , which meant a field surrounded by weeds, and , which meant a sickle and a hand. Obviously the first character indicated "to cut a thicket with a sickle." The second character indicated "to weed a field with a sickle." So the ancient Chinese represented agriculture with the characters meaning "to cut a thicket and to weed," because in those days this was the way in which they cultivated their fields.

Sorting out the grains from the husks.

Originally the Chinese cultivated their fields by first burning the field and then sowing the seed. The character 畑, meaning farm land, consists of 火, fire and 田, field. In those by-gone days the fields were only cultivated every two or three years, that is, when one field was cultivated the second was left fallow. The following year, of course, the first field remained fallow while the second was cultivated. The result was that the fallow fields became overgrown with weeds, so that the farmers had to begin their new planting by first either weeding or by burning the fields. To the farmers of ancient days, the weeding or the cutting of the thicket was not only the first but also the most important work of all.



Irrigating with a treadwheel.

Not until this exhausting work was finished could they sow the seed and earth the young plants. It was the custom that in autumn, at the time of the harvest, the lord came to inspect his fields. A poem which describes this custom in *Shih Ching* reads as follows:

"The lord is arriving at the southern fields.
The farmers with their wives and children bring him a tribute of food.
The farmer in charge of the fields who has also come
Tastes of the food with his right and left hands.
The fields are richly abounding in rice.
The lord does not get angry
For he sees that his farmers have worked hard. 東

Broiled Chicken with Soy Sauce

Ingredients (Serves Four):

Chicken thighs, boneless 3
Ginger juice ..... 1 tsp.
Saké ..... 2 tbsp.
Soy Sauce ..... 3 tbsp.
White Radish, Mild ... 1 large
(Or substitute Turnip) .. 2
Soup Stock (Prepare with Tangle & Dried Bonito or any other fish) ..... 2 cups
Saké ..... 1 tbsp.
Salt ..... 2/3 tsp.
Sugar ..... 2 tbsp.
Vinegar ..... 1 tbsp.
Salad Oil ..... 3 tbsp.
Soy Sauce ..... 1 tbsp.
Sweet Saké ..... 2 tbsp.
Sugar ..... 1½ tbsp.
Parsley for Decoration.

Preparation:

(1) Prick the skin of the chicken with a fork and put it in a marinade of the ginger juice, saké and soy sauce for 30 minutes.
(2) Slice radish (or turnip) into pieces ½″ thick, quarter each piece, and cover with water. Boil soup stock, adding saké, salt and sugar. Add drained radish, cover, and boil at low temperature until radish is soft. Remove radish from soup, add vinegar, and leave to cool.
(3) Heat salad oil in skillet and add chicken, saving the marinade in Step (1). Brown skin-side down at high temperature, turn, and brown lightly on other side (being sure to shake the pan to keep chicken from sticking) at low temperature for about 10 minutes.
(4) To the marinade of the ginger juice, saké and soy sauce in Step (1), add soy sauce, sweet saké and sugar. Boil at moderate heat, add chicken and leave about 3–4 minutes or until chicken acquires color of marinade as in photo. Then slice and decorate with radish and minced parsley.

Vegetables are excellent complements to this dish. 東

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